DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 251 354 SO 016 025

AUTHOR	O'Reilly, Kevin
TITLE	New Republic to Civil War: Booklet 2. Critical Thinking in American History. [Student Manual]
INSTITUTION	Hamilton-Wenham School District, South Hamilton, MA.
PUB DATE	84
NOTE	110p.; For teacher's guide, see SO 016 024. For other documents in the Project on History and Logic (HAL) series, see SO 016 022-027.
AVAILABLE FROM	Critical Thinking Press, 775 Bay Road, South Hamilton, MA 01982 (Order No. 0200, $2.95, plus postage).
PUB TYPE	Guides - Classroom Use - Materials (For Learner) (051)
EDRS PRICE	MF01 Plus Postage. PC Not Available from EDRS.
DESCRIPTORS	Civil War (United States); *Critical Thinking; High Schools; *History Instruction; Instructional Materials; Slavery; Social Studies; Study Guides; Teacher Developed Materials; *United States History
IDENTIFIERS	*Jacksonian Era

ABSTRACT

One of a series of curriculum materials in U.S. history designed to teach critical thinking skills systematically, this student booklet presents high school students with supplementary lessons on the new Republic, the Jacksonian era, slavery and the Civil War. The student booklet begins with a guide to critical thinking which offers an explanation of types of arguments in history, examples of fallacies, a checklist for evaluating evidence, a method for analyzing value positions, ways of identifying assumptions, and models for analyzing arguments. Lesson topics include: the Jay Treaty and John Marshall's role in U.S. history, causes of the War of 1812, the case of "McCulloch versus Maryland," Alexander Hamilton's report on manufacturers, the philosophy of artist Asher B. Durand, the spoils system, the nullification of tariff by South Carolina in 1832, the Tariff of 1818, Jacksonian democracy, defenses of and attacks on slavery, the slave diet, Fort Sumter, viewpoints on the causes of the Civil War, and the Emancipation Proclamation. The student booklet is keyed to detailed lesson plans in an accompanying teacher's guide. (LH)

****
* Reproductions supplied by EDRS are the best that can be made *
* from the original document. *
****

ED251354

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION
EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)

X This document has been reproduced as received from the person or organization originating it.
Minor changes have been made to improve reproduction quality.

• Points of view or opinions stated in this document do not necessarily represent official NIE position or policy.

"PERMISSION TO REPRODUCE THIS MATERIAL IN MICROFICHE ONLY HAS BEEN GRANTED BY

Kevin O'Reilly

TO THE EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)."

NEW REPUBLIC TO CIVIL WAR

BOOKLET 2

Critical Thinking
In
American History

SP 016 025

Critical Thinking in
American History:

BOOKLET 2

NEW REPUBLIC TO CIVIL WAR

by

KEVIN O'REILLY

Copyright ©1984 Critical Thinking Press. It is illegal to copy or duplicate this booklet in whole or in part by any means whatsoever. All rights reserved.

Student Booklet 2
New Republic to Civil War
Table of Contents

Unit Title	Lesson	Pages
Introduction		
	Introduction to Students	1
	Guide to Critical Thinking	2-23
New Republic		
NR-1A	Jay Treaty/John Marshall	24-25
NR-1B	Jay Treaty/XYZ Affair/John Marshall	26
NR-2A	War of 1812	27
NR-2B	War of 1812	28-29
NR-3	"McCulloch v. Maryland"	30-31
NR-4	Hamilton - Report on Manufacturers	32-33
NR-5	"Kindred Spirits" - Painting Problem	34-37
Jackson		
J-1A	Spoils System/Nullification Crisis	38-39
J-1B	Spoils System/Nullification Crisis	40-41
J-2	President Jackson	42
J-3A	Tariff of 1828	43-44
J-3B	Tariff of 1828	45
J-4	Jacksonian Democracy	46
J-5	Viewpoints on Jackson	47-50
Slavery		
S-1	A Defense of Slavery	51
S-2	An Attack on Slavery	52
S-3A	Slave Diet	53-54
S-3B	Slave Diet	55-62
S-4A	Viewpoints on Slavery	63-67
S-4B	Viewpoints on Slavery	68-90
Civil War		
CW-1A	Fort Sumter	91-92
CW-1B	Fort Sumter	93
CW-2A	Viewpoints on the Causes of the Civil War	94-95
CW-2B	Viewpoints on the Causes of the Civil War	96-102
CW-3	Emancipation Proclamation/ No British Alliance with the South	103-106

INTRODUCTION FOR STUDENTS

Did you ever wonder why you study history or what you hope to learn from it? Many high school students think they study history to learn "the facts." Certainly, there is some value in studying information or "the facts." But studying the facts with no understanding is pointless. If we couldn't think about or see the connections between facts in history, then the information would be of little value. So even if you have a good memory and what you like in history is the facts, you still have to be able to think about and use them in order for facts to be any good to you

There is more to history than information, however. There is also the "why" of history. We all would like to explain why certain things happen the way they do. When a historian studies a topic, he/she breaks it down and examines why it happened the way it did. This is called analytical history.

Another part of history arises when historians disagree. When historians have differing viewpoints or interpretations of a topic they weigh their arguments against each other. They debate in historical journals about which viewpoint is stronger. Deciding how good a historical argument is involves a lot of careful thinking. To start out, one question you might want to ask is, how good are the viewpoints presented in your textbook?

So history is a lot more than just "the facts." Most of history involves thinking. In summary, it involves three types of thinking:

1. Seeing the connections between the facts,

2. Analyzing why things happen the way they do, and

3. Evaluating historical viewpoints.

These aspects make up what we'll call historical thinking. If you ask yourself what you'd like to remember from your history course ten years from now, you'd probably agree that you'd rather know how to think better than just know some facts. The Project on History and Logic is designed to help you develop your historical thinking by analyzing historical arguments in a deliberate, organized and sequential way.

"GUIDE TO CRITICAL THINKING"

This *Guide* is intended to help you to better judge arguments that you read or hear from historians, your friends, your parents, news reporters, or other people. An argument (or an interpretation) as used in this *Guide* refers to the act of presenting a conclusion someone wishes to make and backing it up with reasons that logically lead to the conclusion. You have to decide for yourself how strong the argument is.

Arguments or interpretations are made up of three parts:

1. **Evidence** - facts or information which the author uses to back his/her points.
2. **Values** - the underlying beliefs of the author about what is good or important.
3. **Logic** (or reasoning) - the reasoning used by the author to arrive at his/her conclusions.

In a sense, the author of an argument constructs his/her position as someone might construct a building. The author's values are like the foundation, the evidence is like the bricks that comprise the walls, and the logic is like cement which holds the bricks together and forms them into a particular pattern. Just as when you look at a building you want to look at the whole structure first - so too when you look at an argument you want to get the main point (or conclusion) first. Then you want to break the argument down (analyze) into its parts and evaluate the parts against certain standards of excellence of reasoning and evidence.

I. EVIDENCE

A. What is Evidence?

Evidence is the information which a historian or author presents to support his/her argument.

It is only when we know the sources of the evidence that we can judge (evaluate) how good the evidence actually is. There are three sources for evidence:

1. *Statements by witnesses or other people.*
2. *Documents (written information).*
3. *Objects.*

B. **Evidence in Arguments:**

1. There are three possibilities for how a historian backs up an argument:

   a. No evidence - when a historical argument has no evidence to support its points, you should not be convinced by it. Even if the reasoning in the argument seems very strong, you should not support the viewpoint until you see some evidence on the topic (that is, you should suspend judgment). You should always ask yourself, "What is his/her evidence?"

   b. Factual information (sourceless evidence) - when a historian does not give the source for his/her evidence, you really have no way to judge how strong the evidence is. You might say that the historian has given **factual information** or **examples,** but not evidence. Factual information, unlike opinions, could be proven true or false (verified) if you wanted to do the research to check on it. In some cases you will want to do this. But this is different from what you do when you judge evidence for which the source is given.

   c. Evidence - when the source of the information is given you have the opportunity to make some judgments about the evidence presented. You will always be better off by researching further to check on the evidence, but when the source is presented, you can make some judgments before you do more research. You'll know a viewpoint contains evidence (as opposed to information) when the author refers to statements by people, written information, or objects to support his/her arguments.

2. The examples below show the different possibilities for evidence:

   Topic - Karen and the softball team:

   a. "Karen is a very good softball player, in fact, the best on our team." (no evidence).

b. "Karen is the best softball player on our team. She hit .340 for the season and made only two errors playing second base." (Factual information because this information could be checked, but we have no way of judging the evidence without checking).

c. "Karen is the best softball player on our team. Coach Berg said she was the best fielder and the scorebook shows she hit .340 for the season." (Evidence because the source is given. We could ask whether Coach Berg is a primary source, has a reason to distort, and so forth).

Topic - Reconstruction governments:

a. "Reconstruction governments in the South were so corrupt that the South was ruined by them." (No evidence).

b. "Reconstruction governments in the South were terribly corrupt. South Caroiina's debt was increased tremendously. In Arkansas a Negro was given $9,000 for repairing a bridge which had originally cost $500. Other Southern states had the same thing happen." (These are examples of factual information. Statistics can be checked, but we cannot evaluate them without the source. Statistics themselves don't lie, but the people who put them down to make a point frequently distort them. We need to know who recorded these statistics, for what reason, and so forth).

c. "Reconstruction governments in the South were terribly corrupt. For example, right in the records of the South Carolina legislature is recorded a vote to give the Speaker an extra $1,000 to pay for his efficient service right after (according to his diary) he had lost $1,000 on a horse race." (Evidence because the source is given the records of the legislature and the diary).

Once you know that there is evidence you can judge it according to the following factors:

P - Is it a **primary** (eyewitness) or secondary (not an eyewitness source? (Primary is better).

R - Does the person giving the statements or writing the documents have any **reason** to distort, cover up, give false impressions or lie? (No reason to distort is better).

O - Are there **other** witnesses or statements of the same event which report it the same way? (Having other statements saying the same thing is better).

P - Is it a public or **private** statement? It is public if the person giving it knew other people would hear it, or intended that other people should hear it. (Private is generally better).

So when you have identified the evidence in an argument, you can give it the **PROP** analysis. These four factors for judging evidence will be enough to help you evaluate most evidence you will see. However, there are other factors, should you need them:

A. **The Witness:**

1. What is the frame of reference (point of view) of the witness? What are his/her values? What is his/her background?

2. Is the witness an expert or recognized authority on what he/she saw?

3. How soon after the event did the witness report it?

4. Did the witness use precise techniques or tools to report the event? For example, did he/she take notes or use reference points?

B. **The Observation Conditions:**

1. Did the witness have good conditions to see the event? (Was it foggy, noisy, dark?)

2. What was the physical location of the witness to the event? Was he/she close to the action? Were there objects (i.e. buildings) blocking his/her path?

C. **The Witness' Statement: (The Document)**

1. Does the witness believe that his/her statement could be checked out? If I believe you can check my story with other witnesses, I am more likely to tell the truth.

2. Is what the witness says an observation ("Mary smiled") or an inference ("Mary was happy")? Since inferences are judgments they can reveal a lot to you about the witness' point of view or motives for his/her statements.

3. Is the document authentic or a forgery? What is the reputation of the source containing the document?

II. VALUES

A. **What is a value?**

Values are conditions which the author of an argument believes are intrinsically good, or thinks are important or worthwhile. Examples of things people value are: money, success, friendship, love, health, peace, power, freedom, equality. It is often important to discover what the underlying values are of the author of an argument. This will help you understand why the viewpoint is argued the way it is. In some cases, your values may be different from the author's values, which will help you understand why you disagree with the argument. For example, if you believe that peace is generally more important than demonstrating power, then you are going to disagree with an argument which says that since country A increased its power by attacking country B, it was right to attack.

B. **Values in arguments:**

1. The values of the author are revealed in an argument by words **which make value judgments.** Sentences containing words such as "good," "bad," "right," "wrong," "justified," "should," "should not" are usually making value judgments. For example, if someone says "The U. S. was wrong (value judgment) to drop the atomic bomb on Hiroshima because so many people were killed," he/she is saying that life (value) is more important than the other conditions or values involved (power, peace vs. war, etc.).

2. When you have identified a value judgment in an argument, you can then examine it by:

a. Separating the argument into the factual and value parts.
b. Stating the value part in a general way.
c. Asking yourself whether this value position would be right in all instances (cases). Think of cases to see if the value would be right for them.

For example, suppose someone said:

"We should have capital punishment because criminals will commit fewer crimes if they think they might be executed (killed by the government)".

You would do the following:

a. Factual part - "Executing criminals will cause criminals to commit fewer crimes." (Notice that this could be checked on by getting statistics on the number of crimes with and without capital punishment, or other methods). This was mentioned in the section on evidence in this "Guide."

b. Values part stated in general terms - "Something (notice the **general** word) which causes fewer crimes should (value judgment) be done."

c. Is this a good idea in all cases? You could bring up specific cases such as:

"Putting into jail anyone who has ever been a defendant in a criminal case, whether found innocent or guilty, will cause fewer crimes also. Should we do this?"

Now we know that just because something (capital punishment) causes fewer crimes to be committed doesn't mean that we should necessarily do it. There are other things (like rights, innocence) to consider. The

person who made the statement (if you are discussing an issue directly with him/her) might have to modify it to

"We should have capital punishment under strict safeguards to protect innocent people, because it will make criminals commit fewer crimes."

You could now bring up new cases to get the author to examine his/her value position further.

The object of this strategy is not to embarass or humiliate the other person but rather to get everyone to examine the value positions in more detail.

C. **Other values judgments and emotional language:**

Sometimes the author of an argument will use specific words (rather than "right," "wrong" etc.) to describe a situation which reveals value judgments. Again, these reveal the author's point of view or position on the things described. For example, the following two sentences tell you something about the points of view of the authors:

1. "The lazy government official needlessly interfered with the running of the dynamically expanding business."

2. "The representative of the public's interest was finally able to control the pollution of the greedy monopoly."

These are extreme examples, but they show how authors can use words to paint the good guys and the bad guys. It is not hard to see that the first author supports the business against government, and the second author supports the government against the business.

Words such as those in the two examples above and others such as "terrific," "terrible," "intellectual," "egghead," "pushy," and "go getter," show the author's point of view. You should try to identify the use of this type of **emotional language.**

When it appears, it shows that the author is emotionally involved in the topic (he/she may not be as objective as he/she should be) or that the author is trying to sway the reader through an emotional response. We should not be swayed to accept an argument through emotion, but rather through reasoning and evidence.

III. LOGIC OR REASONING

A. What is logic or reasoning?

Without logic or reasoning, humans would make no advances in life. Reasoning is one of the most important characteristics separating humans from animals. Logic or reasoning is the process of reaching a conclusion on the basis of available information or experience. It is the way an author tries to prove his point.

This section of the *Guide* includes information on various parts of logic or reasoning and gives you tips on what to look for in each part.

B. Main points and conclusions:

1. The first thing that you should do when you read an argument is identify the main point. The **main point** is what the author of a long argument (more than one paragraph) is trying to prove. You can't judge an argument until you first figure out what the author is trying to prove. A **conclusion** is what the author of a short argument (one paragraph or less) is trying to prove.

   A premise is a statement which presents evidence or reasons for the conclusion of the argument. (It is the part other than the conclusion). We will use the word premise in the worksheets, but we are concerned mostly with finding the conclusion.

2. You can find the conclusion or a main point by asking yourself, "What is the author trying to convince me of?" You can often also locate the conclusion by using the cue words below, especially "therefore." Ask, "Therefore, what?"

3. Cue words:

Conclusions	Premises
therefore	since
then	if
so	because
thus	

C. **Words:**

1. As you can see in the sections on values and conclusions, the words an author uses can reveal something about his/her values, or cue you about the parts of an argument. In addition, historians should be careful to define words they use in arguments. Some words present problems when we try to define them. For example: "Bald" - how bald is bald? 100 hairs? 2 hairs? no hairs? Where a word is subject to several meanings, the historian should define how he/she is using it.

2. In some cases word usage is the key to assessing how good a historical argument is. There are some fallacies associated with words, among which are:

a. Jargon- the needless use of big words to make the argument sound more impressive. The key word is needless." for in some instances big words are necessary to explain the argument.

b. Equivocation - the use of a key term in two or more senses in the same argument. For example, "How can people oppose Communism, when we are all communists (since we all share to some extent)?"

D. **Assumptions and Inferences:**

1. An assumption is something which is not stated but which is taken for granted by the author. We will say that something which is taken for granted but is stated is not an assumption but just a statement which lacks evidence. Unstated assumptions are the middle or

general premise in an argument. You can find them by rewriting a short argument into premise-premise-conclusion form. For example, if someone said:

"We should spend our vacation in the mountains because we need a rest."

We could rephrase it as:

Premise - We need a rest.

Premise (Assumption) - Vacations in the mountains provide rests.

Conclusion - We should spend our vacation in the mountains.

Notice that the second premise is the assumption and that it is stated in general terms - "vacations."

2. An **inference** is a conclusion that goes beyond the evidence upon which it is based. It is drawn from the evidence. By knowing certain facts, we can make an educated guess or infer that something else is true. For example, if you walked into a room and there were twenty people there who yelled "suprise!" and started singing "happy birthday," you could infer that this is your birthday, that there will be a cake later, and so on. Or, if you saw a person frowning, you might infer that he/she is angry. The reasoning here is:

Premise: That person is frowning.

Premise: People who frown are angry.

Conclusion (inference): That person is angry.

The inference is the conclusion.

You need to learn to make reasonable inferences (a well-developed skill among historians) and to judge how good the inferences are that are made by historians or other authors. Many times people make incorrect inferences because of faulty assumptions.

For example:

"I knew Tom was a drinker when he told me he was Irish."

The faulty assumption that all Irishmen are drinkers led to the unwarranted (possibly incorrect) inference that Tom is a drinker.

E. Types of Reasoning Used in History:

1. There are basically five kinds of reasoning used in history. Once you can identify these types of reasoning, then you can judge them against key questions for each type. These questions will help you see strong points, find weak points, or identify downright errors (or failacies) in logic in the argument. You need to remember that in most arguments, even short ones, there are several types of reasoning being used.

2. Types of reasoning:

   a. Comparison (Analogy) - this type of reasoning compares **two** similar cases and reasons that what is true for one is true for the other. Watch, sometimes, for the cue word "like" to show an analogy.

      Examples:

      "Harry did all his homework and got an "A" in history. If I do all my homework, I'll get an "A," too."

      "Tracy set up her factory this way and it increased the speed of her assembly line. If I do the same, I'll increase the speed of my assembly line."

   b. Sample (Generalization) - this type of reasoning reasons that what is true for some part (or sample) of the group will be true for the whole group.

      Examples:

      A person takes a bite (sample) of pizza and says, "it's cold" (whole group).

A student who studies the corrupt Tweed Ring in New York City in the 1870's (sample - 1 case), concludes that there was a lot of corruption in American cities in the 1800's (whole group).

When you see general terms (plural nouns) like "people," "countries," "wars" consider that the author is making a generalization. How many people, countries, causes, or wars were sampled?

Two types of generalizations are called hard and soft generalizations. **Hard generalizations** deal with all (or none) of the members of a group. "All the apples have fallen off the tree." This type is disproven by one counter example (contrary case). **Soft generalizations** deal with most (or a few) of the members of a group. "Most people remember Vietnam." This is not disproven by one or even several contrary cases, but as the contrary cases add up, the generalization is weakened. Historians do some of their research on specific cases (like "White Collar Mobility in Nineteenth Century San Francisco") in order to test the worthiness of generalizations.

c. Cause and effect - this type of reasoning argues that something caused (or will cause) or brought about - something else. This type of reasoning is involved with the **connections** between causes and effects.

Examples:

You see a flame (cause) under a pan of water, so you conclude it will boil (effect).

A historian argues that the main cause for the U. S. to enter into World War I was German submarines sinking so many ships.

A doctor sees that you have a fever and are coughing (effects) and concludes you have a virus (cause). He/she will then run tests to verify his/her reasoning.

Cue words for cause and effect reasoning are "cause," "reason for," "led to," "prevented."

d. Proof - this type of reasoning uses evidence or logic to prove the argument. Almost all arguments use some form of proof reasoning. When you cannot identify the argument as being a comparison, sample, cause and effect or debating (described below) then it probably is a proof argument. There are several ways of using proof reasoning:

1. Using evidence (or lack of evidence) to prove the point.
2. Using authority, or appeal to a moderate view, or emotion to prove the point.
3. Eliminating alternatives to prove the point. For example, the prosecuting attorney might say, "Only Hodges and Simpson had a motive to commit the crime but Hodges was in Bermuda at the time, so Simpson must have done it." The prosecutor has eliminated alternatives to arrive at his/her conclusion.

Examples:

(Evidence) "Records from New Orleans show that slave sales broke up many slave families."

(Authority) "Mrs Harney, a recognized expert on this subject, has shown that social class is not the most important reason."

(Eliminating Alternatives) "As has been shown, social class was not the key to voting behavior. Morever, people did not vote based on issues or the candidates' personalities. This leaves only religious and ethnic factors to explain voting patterns." (Notice that this also uses cause and effect and sample reasoning, and that all the alternatives have not been elminated).

e. Debating - this type of reasoning refers to or talks about what another person (historian in an issue on history) said about the same topic.

It basically tells you what the other people said, and gives you an argument about why the other people are wrong or partially wrong. Debating is done quite frequently at the beginning of articles in historical journals. The authors of the articles then go on to use the other four types of reasoning to show why their arguments should be accepted.

Example:

"The theory that the U. S. entered into World War I to make the world safe for democracy is weak for several reasons."

("The theory" refers to another viewpoint by a different historian.)

F. **Key Questions:**

1. For each type of reasoning there are key questions which will help you to judge how good the reasoning is.
2. Key questions for each type of reasoning:
   a. Comparison (Analogy):

      Are the two cases compared similar enough to make the conclusion a good one?

   b. Sample (Generalization):

      Is the sample a good one? Is it large enough or representative enough to make the conclusion a good one?

   c. Cause and effect:

      Does the author really show the connection between the cause and the effect? Has the author considered all the possible connections or causes?

   d. Proof:

      Does the evidence or the argument make the conclusion a good one? Have all the alternatives been eliminated in this type of reasoning?

   e. Debating:

      Does the author of this argument give good enough reasons for disproving or weakening the other argument? Does he/she attack the other view in a fair way?

G. **Fallacies in History:**

1. Once you have identified the types of reasoning involved in an argument and asked yourself the key questions for the types of reasoning involved, you can get an idea of some of the strengths and weaknesses of the argument. From there you can also identify any fallacies (errors in logic) that might have been involved in the argument. The fallacies below are arranged according to the five types of reasoning. All you have to do is look under the types of reasoning you've identified in order to find the possible fallacies involved. For example, if you've concluded that the argument you're analyzing is a combination of sample and cause and effect reasoning, you would ask the key questions for those two types and then look at the fallacies under those two types only.

2. Fallacies (or errors) in reasoning:

a. **Comparison (Analogy) Fallacies:**

No specific fallacies. The key question takes care of the fallacies.

b. **Sample (Generalization) Fallacies:**

1. **Unrepresentative Sample** (or **Hasty Generalization**) - A conclusion based on a sample which has too few examples or which does not represent the whole group well. This includes oversimplications, such as "If it were not for bankers, we wouldn't have wars."

Example:

A reporter asks three people in Massachusetts if they support gun control. They all answer yes. So he/she concludes, "Everyone in Massachusetts supports gun control."

Sometimes only a single case is used to make a generalization. Watch for "for example," or "for instance."

2. **Stereotyping** (or **Composition** or **Division**)
A conclusion in which the characteristics of some portion of the group are assumed to be true for everyone (or everything) in the group.

Examples:

"You're Jewish, so you must be well educated."

"He's a member of a good law firm, so he must be a good lawyer."
"They all are good singers, so they'll be a good quartet."

3. **Special Pleading** - A conclusion based on bringing out the factual information favorable to the author's arguments, but leaving out the information which is not favorable. Be careful not to overdo this fallacy. Historians always have to leave out some information, but this doesn't mean they've committed special pleading. What we want to know is whether the historian has left out evidence contrary (opposite) to his/her theory, or whether the historian has included it and overcome it with better evidence or reasoning.

Examples:

"Mom, I should be able to go to the dance. I passed my history test, and got an 'A' in math." (But, he failed the science test, which he didn't tell his mom).

"The U. S. has always won her wars. Look at the Spanish American War, World War I, and World War II." (But this leaves out the War of 1812 and Vietnam).

c. **Cause and Effect Fallacies:**

1. **Single Cause** - A conclusion that an event had one cause when in reality more than one cause was involved. Giving an event one cause oversimplifies history. Be careful not to overdo this fallacy. Sometimes a historian asserts that something was the cause of an event, but he/she really means that it was the main cause.

Example:

"The explosion of the battleship 'Maine' caused the Spanish-American War."

2. **Preceding Event as Cause (Post Hoc Ergo Propter Hoc)** -
A conclusion that if event B happened after event A, then A caused B.

Examples:

"I washed my car, so naturally it rained."

"General Grant was appointed commander of the Union troops. After this, the North started to win."

3. **Correlation As Cause** -

A conclusion that if A and B occurred at the same time, or regularly at the same time (a correlation), then one caused the other. Historians deal frequently with correlations when they cannot show the connection between a supposed cause and effect. Ideally, we would like to see the connection, but oftentimes correlations are very strong. For example, since doctors have not shown **how** cigarette smoking leads to lung cancer (they haven't shown the connection) they haven't proven that it causes the cancer. Yet the correlation between cigarette smoking and lung cancer is so strong that almost everyone believes that cigarettes do cause it.

Examples:

"Democrats were President during World War I, World War II, and Korea. The Democrats cause wars.

"Presidents elected in years ending in zero (i.e. 1860) died in office. So, the years they were elected caused their deaths."

d. **Proof Fallacies:**

1. **Irrelevant Proof** - A conclusion based on an argument which is not relevant to the topic.

Examples:

Student to teacher, "If you flunk me, I'll lose my scholarship."

Child to parent, "Everyone else does it."

Historian, "Governor Billing was not such a bad governor. He was good to his children, and he went to church every Sunday."

2. **Negative Proof** - A conclusion based on the absence (lack) of evidence to support some other theory (argument).

Example:

"There is no evidence that Senator Macklem was an honest woman, therefore she was a thief."

3. **Numbers** - A conclusion that this argument must be right since there is so much evidence to back it up. But don't go overboard on this fallacy, because generally an argument with more evidence is strengthened.

Example:

"We have so much evidence from these records that we must be right."

4. **Appeal to Authority** - A conclusion that this argument is right because it is based on the support of an expert. Again, you have to be careful, since using authorities to support a theory generally strengthens the theory. This is why doctors are called to testify in court cases involving medical injuries. However, sometimes authors depend too much on experts and not enough on evidence to prove their points. also, sometimes the experts are not expert on the particular topic about which the author is arguing.

Example:

Bruce Jenner urging us to eat a certain brand of cereal.

5. **Appeal to the Golden Mean** - A conclusion that this argument is right because it is moderate (between the extreme views), or it takes in all the other viewpoints. Remember that extreme views can be right. Many ideas that we now accept as reasonable were once considered extreme. For example, it was once considered an extreme view to be in favor of women voting.

Examples:

"Some people say that Adolph Hitler was the greatest leader ever and some people say he was one of the most evil men who ever lived. So, he must have been an OK person - with some good and some bad points."

"The ideal highway speed is 45 miles per hour because it is between the crazy speeder and the slow poke."

6. **False Scenario** - A conclusion based on an argument that if something had happened, then something else would have happened (or if something had not happened, then something else would not have happened, and so forth). Scenarios can be reasonable if there is a lot of evidence to support them, but scenarios are weak. Watch for the cue word "if," although not all statements with "if" are scenarios.

Example:

"If we had not built railroads in the late nineteenth century, the U.S. would not have had as much economic growth."

7. **Either-Or** - A conclusion that since A and B were the only possible explanations and since A was not possible, B is proven to be the explanation. This method of arguing (eliminating alternatives) is acceptable, as was shown above in the explanation of proof reasoning. The problem is when the two alternatives were not the only choices available. Couldn't it be both, neither, or something else?

Example:

Book title "The Colonists: Dreamers or Idiots?"

8. **Begging the Question (Circular Argument)** - A conclusion which is based on a premise, but the premise is also based on the conclusion.

Example:

"Author A is a better writer than author B because people with good literary taste prefer A. We know those people have good literary taste because they read author A."

9. **Prevalent Proof** - A conclusion that something is right because everyone knows it is right.

Example:

(From the Middle Ages) "Everyone knows the sun goes around the earth."

e. **Debating Fallacies:**

1. **Attacking the Arguer (Ad Hominem)** - A conclusion that the opposing viewpoint is wrong because of the person making the argument.

Example:

"No one should listen to what Mr. Warren says. He's a Communist."

2. **Straw Man** - A conclusion that the opposing viewpoint is wrong based on an attack of what the opponent did **not** say. It is the technique of adding to or changing what an opponent has said, and then attacking your version of what he/she said.

Example:

Jones: "I'm opposed to capital punishment."

Thibedeau: "People like you who oppose punishing criminals make me sick." (Jones didn't say he opposed punishing criminals.)

3. **Appeal to Irrelevant Outcome** - A conclusion that an opposing viewpoint is wrong because the person making the argument would really not want the outcome or consequences of his/her position.

Example:

Historian: "I wonder if those historians who feel America was wrong in the Mexican War would want to give back all the land the U.S. gained from the War." (This is irrelevant to whether the U.S. was right or wrong.)

IV. MODELS FOR ANALYZING ARGUMENTS

A. For written arguments use MARKER: (Remember that key words - such as value words - can help you identify several of the parts of an argument.)

M - Find the **main point.**

A - Locate any **assumptions** the author makes. Include in these values and value judgments.

R - Identify the types of **reasoning** used by the author in the different parts of the argument.

K - Apply the **key questions** to the types of reasoning you found. How well does the author answer these questions? These key questions may also help you to identify fallacies in the argument.

E - Look for the **evidence** the author uses to support his points. If there is no evidence, be sure to note that. If the author uses factual information (sourceless evidence) instead of evidence, write that down and add any comments. If the author has evidence, evaluate it according to PROP or the other factors for judging evidence. If the author includes a lot of evidence, evaluate only the two or three pieces of evidence that support the most important arguments. You must evaluate specific pieces of evidence if there is evidence presented in the argument.

R - Think of any **relevant information** that you know of on this issue. Do the points made in this argument square with what you already know on the topic? Do the points seem to make sense based on your own experiences?

B. For films use PIPE: (Remember that what we are evaluating here is the arguments made by the film. We are not judging it according to literary or technical standards).

P - Find the **point of view** of the film. Watch for parts of the film which seem to make value judgments. Does the point of view support or attack a point of view which you already know of on this topic?

I - Watch for any **inferences** made in the film. What parts of the film could the author (filmmaker) not have known from the evidence available on this topic, but rather had to guess at or infer. For example, suppose suppose two characters in the film have a private discussion in a bedroom. If neither of these figures ever actually wrote about what he/she thought or talked about, then you might conclude that the author of the film made up this conversation. The conversation may reveal the author's opinions, bias, or point of view.

P - Think about **persuasive techniques** used in the film.

How does the film use music, camera angles, character portrayal (i.e. good guys and bad guys), and so forth? Are these aspects of the film meant to persuade the viewer to a certain point of view? For example, if a film on industrialists played lively cheerful music every time an industrialist was shown, you might conclude that the filmmaker was favorable to the industrialists.

E - Identify any **evidence** used in the film to support its arguments. What evidence is presented and how good is it? When we say evidence we mean specific evidence used to support specific arguments. We do not mean the statement at the beginning of some films that it is "based on fact." It is very difficult to present evidence in a film. Nevertheless, just as you should not be persuaded by written arguments having no evidence to back them up, you should not be unduly influenced by films having no evidence to back them up.

Write the arguments below in premise-premise-conclusion form. The first one is done for you.

A. Question: Did John Jay do a good job in negotiating the Jay Treaty with the British?

Historian 1:

"In the Jay Treaty, John Jay gave up too many rights to the British, while getting very little in return. So he did not do a good job in negotiating the Treaty."

Premise: John Jay gave up too many rights to the British and got very little in return.

Premise: People who give up too much while getting very little in return have not done a good job in negotiating.

Conclusion: Therefore (so), John Jay did not do a good job in negotiating the Jay Treaty.

Historian 2:

"In the Jay Treaty, John Jay got the best terms he could get under the difficult circumstances, and he helped the U. S. avoid war with Britain. So, he did a good job in negotiating the Treaty."

Premise:

Premise: Negotiators who get the best terms they can under the circumstances, and who avoid war, have done a good job in negotiating.

Conclusion:

B. Question: Did John Marshall help the United States?

Historian 3:

"John Marshall strengthened the central government and the powers of the judicial branch, which brought more unity to our country. So John Marshall helped the United States a great deal."

NR-1A NEW REPUBLIC

Premise:

Premise:

Conclusion:

Historian 4:

"John Marshall hurt our country. He strengthened the power of the central government too much and cut down the power of the states."

Premise:

Premise:

Conclusion:

NR-1B NEW REPUBLIC

Write the arguments below in premise-premise-conclusion form. The first one is done for you.

A. **"The British got the better of the deal in the Jay Treaty. They won the right to trade freely in American ports, and they kept the right to trade furs in American territory. All they gave up to the Americans was the withdrawal of their troops from certain forts in the Northwest Territory."**

Premise: In the Jay Treaty, the British won the right to trade in American ports, they kept their fur trade, and they only had to withdraw from certain forts.

Premise: Countries which win so many rights and give up so little have made the better deal.

Conclusion: Therefore, the British got the better of the deal in the Jay Treaty.

B. **"The French insulted America in the XYZ Affair. The French officals demanded both that the American government apologize to France and that America grant a loan and pay a bribe to France."**

Premise:

Premise: Governments which demand apologies and demand that another government grant a loan and pay a bribe are being insulting.

Conclusion:

C. **"John Marshall helped our country a great deal by strengthening the central governmen, especially the powers of the judicial branch of government."**

Premise:

Premise:

Conclusion:

NR-2A NEW REPUBLIC

WORKSHEET

This worksheet will help you prepare for a debate on the causes of the War of 1812. The debate topic is:

"Resolved: The United States was right to declare war on England in 1812."

Half the class will take the pro position (support the position that the U. S. was right to declare war) and half the class will take the con position (against the above statement).

Fill in the worksheet with the causes of the War of 1812 and explain why it shows that the U. S. was right or wrong to go to war in 1812. Then write in the source and page from which you got your information. You may need this information to defend your claims during the debate.

CAUSE	SHOWS U. S. WAS RIGHT EXPLAIN	SHOWS U.S. WAS NOT RIGHT EXPLAIN	SOURCE AND PAGE
1."Chesapeake" Incident	U. S. right - countries can't let warships from other countries fire on their own ships. War necessary.		

SOURCES - CAUSES OF THE WAR OF 1812

1. Congressman Felix Grundy of Tennessee (a western state), speech to Congress, December 9, 1811, *Annals of Congress*, 12th Congress, 1st session (1811), I, 424. (Summarized and rephrased by the author of this booklet.)

   The real question of our problems with Britain involves the interest of the whole nation. Britain is upset by the growth of our trade and so is interfering with it and impressing our seamen. This unjust and lawless invasion of personal liberty calls for action by this Government.

   We have to decide whether we will go to war to stop the British from their rule over our trade. For my part, I am not prepared to have our country submit to have our trade interfered with. Sir, I prefer war to submission.

   In the West, it is with British help and encouragement that the Indians have begun to fight us, since only the British have trade with those Northern tribes.

   This war will have its advantages. We'll drive the British from our Continent. They will no longer be able to get the Indians to attack us, setting the ruthless savage to tomahawk our women and children.

2. Congressman Henry Clay of Kentucky (a western state), speech to Congress, February 22, 1810, *Annals of Congress*, 11th Congress, 1st session (1810), 580-81. (Summarized and rephrased by the author of this booklet.)

   In going to war with Great Britain, we should think not only of the benefits to our country, but also of the injury that we can do to the enemy. The militia (soldiers) of Kentucky alone could take much of Canada, it is so weakly defended. The loss of this immense area (Canada) will hurt Britain. And the halt of the Indian attacks and the taking over of the British fur trade will help our country.

3. Congressman John Randolph of Virginia (an eastern state), speech to Congress, *Annals of Congress*, 12th Congress, 1st session (1811), I, 446, 553. (Summarized and rephrased by the author of this booklet.)

There is no evidence that the British have been encouraging the Indians to attack Americans. Actually, it was our own thirst for land, taking it away from the Indians, which forced them to fight us.

If we go to war, it will not be for the protection of, or defense of, our maritime (naval) rights. It is the western farmers, desiring more land, who urge war. All we keep hearing is: take Canada! Yet, Canada has nothing to do with our maritime rights.

4. President James Madison, war message to Congress, June 1, 1812. Richardson, *Messages and Papers of the Presidents*, II, 485. (Summarized and rephrased by the author of this booklet.)

British ships have continued to violate the rights of Americans on the ocean. The British seize persons off American ships, thousands of them American citizens who are under the protection of the American flag. These Americans have been torn from their country and everything dear to them.

British ships have also interfered with and plundered our trade on every sea. Our trade has been cut off from its legitimate markets, which has hurt our economy.

We also notice that the savages have lately been attacking our citizens on the frontier. It is difficult to explain this activity by tribes in constant trade and contact with the British without connecting British influence to the attacks. We have, moreover, hard evidence of British meddling with the Indians.

NR-3 NEW REPUBLIC

Below is a summary of the arguments made in the case "McCulloch v. Maryland," a famous case decided by the Supreme Court under John Marshall. The two questions dealt with in this case were: Should we have a U.S. Bank? and Should Maryland be able to tax the U.S. Bank? Remember that the arguments below have been reordered and rewritten. The "Pro" arguments are those favoring the U.S. Bank and against Maryland taxing the bank. The "Con" arguments are those opposing the bank and supporting Maryland taxing the bank. You'll notice that the arguments made in this case are similar to arguments you may have made in debates or discussions in your history class.

"McCulloch v. Maryland"

Questions: Should we have a U. S. Bank?
Should Maryland be able to tax the U. S. Bank?

Argument Number

1. Pro: The power to tax is the power to destroy. Therefore, Maryland shouldn't be able to tax the U.S. Bank.

2. Con: Maryland is a sovereign state (it's the highest authority within its borders) and by its Constitution has the right to tax.

3. Pro: No state has the power granted to it to tax an institution (organization) of the federal government.

4. Con: But the federal government taxes state banks. Why, then, can't states tax the federal bank?

5 Pro: Because federal law is superior to state law. Article 6 of the Constitution calls federal law *the supreme law of the land.*

6. Con: But federal law doesn't say a federal bank is allowed. Nowhere in the Constitution does it say that Congress can charter (set up) a bank.

7. Pro: You are trying to make the point that just because the word *bank* doesn't appear in the Constitution the bank is unconstitutional. But the argument is absurd. Nowhere in the

Argument Number

Constitution does the word *post office* appear either, but surely under the powers granted to the federal government to carry the mails, post offices are allowed. The Constitution says that things which are necessary to carry out the stated powers are allowed.

8. Con: The Bank is not necessary, however.

9. Pro: The Bank is necessary for the Congress to carry out its powers to tax and wage war.

10. Con: "Necessary" means indispensable. It doesn't mean useful or convenient. The Bank is useful for Congress to tax and wage war, but it is not indispensable.

11. Pro: Twice the country has almost perished (suffered destruction) when it did not have the Bank. This shows the Bank is indispensable.

12. Con: But both times the country did survive without the Bank, which shows the Bank is not indispensable.

13. Pro: Congress has many powers granted to it for the public good. It should not be denied the ability to carry out those powers. The Bank gives Congress the ability to carry out some of those powers.

14. Con: The doctrine of implied powers (the powers which give Congress the ability to carry out the powers stated in the Constitution) is very dangerous. For example, one stated power of Congress in the Constitution is the defense of the country. The doctrine of implied power would say that to defend the country Congress should be able to build ships, and to ensure that it will have the materials to build the ships it should be able to take over the lumbering and iron industries. By arguing that something is necessary to carry out other powers, Congress could similarly take over copper mines, shipping, or just about any industry.

NR-4 NEW REPUBLIC

REPORT ON MANUFACTURERS

by Alexander Hamilton

(I) Countries which depend on agriculture for their wealth and exports will not achieve economic growth. (II) These countries will continually have to import more expensive manufactured goods from industrialized countries. (III) Since their imports would be more expensive than their exports, the agricultural countries would lose gold and silver to pay for the extra cost of the imports. (IV) Thus, they would not have the economic and military strength to survive.

(V) In the United States today (1791) manufacturing is not developed - we are too dependent upon agriculture. (VI) There are several reasons for this. (VII) First, the size of our market is too small to make it profitable for large manufacturing businesses to start up. (VIII) For, to operate an efficient and profitable manufacturing business, it has to be large enough to produce a large number of items, which reduces the cost of each item produced. (IX) Second, there is a scarcity (not enough) of skilled labor, because people continually move West, instead of staying in the East to work in factories. (X) Also, there is a scarcity of capital (money) in the U.S.. (XI) The result of these scarcities is that prices for labor and capital are very high, much higher than in European countries, such as in England. (XII) This allows England to produce manufactured goods much more cheaply than the U.S.; and so English manufactured goods sell in America; Americans meanwhile depend on agriculture alone and are excluded from competing in manufactured goods.

(XIII) Since U.S. businesses cannot compete in manufactured goods because of the small market and lack of skilled labor and capital in this country, it is necessary for the U.S. Government to step in to help our companies to have a fair chance to compete. (XIV) The Government can adopt tariffs to protect our infant industries. (XV) It can also give businesses subsidies (government aid) to make up for the high costs of labor and capital, and it can improve the transportation system to enlarge the U.S. market. (XVI) It must be remembered that European governments already aid their businesses, so to compete fairly, U.S. businesses will also need government aid. (XVII) The benefits of government help to business will be widespread. (XVIII) The country will move into manufacturing and as a consequence will prosper, grow, and become one of the powerful nations of the world.

NR-4 NEW REPUBLIC

REPORT ON INDUSTRIAL POLICY FOR THE 1980's

(I) Recently cheap foreign imports have been taking over more and more of the American market, thereby reducing the sales of American businesses and causing staggering levels of unemployment. (II) Increasing imports into the U.S. of Japanese cars and specialty steel serve as just two examples of this increasing trend. (III) Financial losses and high unemployment in the auto and steel industries in the U.S. are well knowm. (IV) What we need is government help to make American businesses more competitive with foreign companies. (V) After all, it is government help in those countries which gives their companies the edge over ours. (VI) The Japanese government ministry for industrial planning (called MITI) has had many successes in the 1950's, 1960's and 1970's in helping key Japanese industries expand and grow. (VII) MITI forecasts future economic trends and gives to business experts advice which they are free to accept or reject. (VIII) One bit of advice it gave to the steel industry was to switch to specialty steel, which helped the industry expand tremendously. (IX) The Japanese government also limits foreign competition in Japan and targets promising growth industries with subsidies (government aid).

(X) Meanwhile, the U.S. Government does little to correct the situation and put American companies on a more equal competitive footing. (XI) We already have some government help for business in the defense and space industries, but it is not overall aid and planning for the industrial economy. (XII) When are we going to wake up and take some serious action to restore our industries to a competitive position in the world?

37

Western Civilization (Europe and America) has held several philosophies through its history. Two of these philosophies are Enlightenment Thinking and Romanticism. The Enlightenment thinkers believed that the scientific method could be used by humanity to understand the world and solve all problems. As such, they looked for common characteristics, and the normal, regular parts of life, since these could be studied. Universities, books, and study were important. Above all Enlightenment Thinking stressed those things which could be undertood by the mind -- it focused on reason.

Romantic philosophers, meanwhile, reacted against what they felt was the excessive rationality of the Enlightenment. They stressed the uniqueness of life and of each person. As opposed to reason and science, Romanticism stressed emotion and instinct. Moods (peaceful, frightening) were very important. Romantics emphasized humanity's connection with nature -- only by getting back to nature could people be truly fulfilled.

On the next page is a painting entitled "Kindred Spirits" by Asher B. Durand. Durand was an American artist who painted this work in 1849. After looking at the painting, write down whether the artist seems to believe in Enlightenment or Romantic Philosophy. Give the reasons for your choice.

Asher B. Durand, *Kindred Spirits*, (Collection of the New York Public Library; Astor Lenox and Tilden Foundations. Used by permission.)

NR-5 NEW REPUBLIC

WORKSHEET

Below is a series of statements. Check off whether or not the painting *Kindred Spirits* supports each statement and explain your choices:

Statement	Supports	Does not Support	Reasons for your Choice
1. The Hudson River School of artists glorified nature. They painted landscapes with attention to each detail.			
2. Alexis de Tocqueville wrote a book entitled *Democracy in America* about his observations of the U. S. In it he said that Americans loved equality and freedom as well as wealth and material comfort. America was a middle-class country which emphasized economic growth.			
3. Neoclassical art attempted to eliminate imperfections and paint the perfect form instead. These artists painted idealized people, freed from their individuality. Greek and Roman scenes were often used as back ground for the paintings.			

NR-5 NEW REPUBLIC
WORKSHEET

Statement	Supports	Does not Support	Reasons for your Choice
4. Frederick Jackson Turner said that the Frontier (the wilderness) shaped American character. It is what made Americans different from other people.			
5. Transcendentalism stressed the inner strength of each person. This inner strength was discovered by learning about oneself through meditation in and contact with nature.			

J-1A JACKSON

Write the arguments below in premise-premise-conclusion form. The first one is done for you.

A. Question: Did the spoils system help or hurt the United States?

Historian 1:

"The spoils system replaced many experienced and qualified officials with political supporters of Andrew Jackson who were not qualified to do the job. So, the spoils system hurt the country."

Premise: The spoils system replaced many qualified officials with unqualified Jackson supporters.

Premise: A system which replaces many qualified officials with unqualified ones hurts the country.

Conclusion:

Historian 2:

"The spoils system removed many officials who had been on the job too long and had become indifferent to the public good, and replaced those officials with new people who had new ideas. So, the spoils system helped the country."

Premise:

Premise: A system which replaces indifferent officials with people with new ideas helps the country.

Conclusion:

B. Question: Did Andrew Jackson handle correctly the nullification of the tariff by South Carolina in 1832?

J-1A JACKSON

Historian 3:

"Andrew Jackson overreacted to the nullification of the tariff by South Carolina in 1832 and almost caused a war. He didn't even listen to South Carolina's complaints, and he threatened to hang all the leaders of the nullification bill."

Premise:

Premise:

Conclusion:

Historian 4:

"Andrew Jackson's strong action in the nullification crisis of 1832 prevented secession and thus kept the country united. He showed the leaders of South Carolina he wasn't bluffing, and at the same time he left the way open for a peaceable solution to the problem."

Premise:

Premise:

Conclusion:

J-1B JACKSON

A. **"Andrew Jackson's spoils system shows what a bad president he was. This system replaced many experienced and competent officials with people who were not qualified for the jobs but who were political supporters of Andrew Jackson."**

Restate this argument:

1. Premise:
2. Premise:
3. Conclusion:
4. What is an unstated assumption in this argument?
5. What is one word which makes a value judgment in this argument?
6. What is a word which needs to be defined (that is unclear)?
7. What are two types of reasoning used in this argument?

   A.

   B.
8. What is a possible weakness in the argument?

B. **"Andrew Jackson's strong action in the nullification crisis of 1832 prevented secession and thus kept the country united. He made strong statements to show the leaders in South Carolina that he meant business and at the same time he left the way open for a peaceable solution to the problem."**

J-1B JACKSON

9. Premise:
10. Premise:
11. Conclusion:
12. What is an unstated assumption in this argument?
13. The word "strong" makes a value judgment favorable to Jackson's actions. Substitute a word which makes an unfavorable judgment:
14. What is the primary type of reasoning used in this argument?

J-2 JACKSON

This worksheet will help you prepare for a debate on Andrew Jackson. The debate topic is:

"Resolved: Andrew Jackson was a good president who was good for the United States."

Half the class will take the pro position (supporting the above statement) and half the class will take the con position (opposing the statement).

Fill in the worksheet with information related to Jackson as president. Then write down what the information shows in favor of him or against him. Then write in the source and page from which you got your information. You may need the sources to defend your claims during the debate.

Issue	What it shows in favor of Jackson	What it shows against Jackson	Source and page
1. Spoils system	It helped get new people into government. It made the government more democratic.	It removed qualified and experienced officials from the government.	

J-3A JACKSON

WORKSHEET ON COMPARATIVE ADVANTAGE

Among many other products, New York produces orchard fruits and dairy cattle, and Pennsylvania produces wheat and dairy cattle. The two states trade orchard fruits for wheat. That is, some people in New York sell orchard fruits to Pennsylvania, and other people in New York buy wheat from Pennsylvania. There are, however, a few wheat farmers in New York. Suppose they said that they needed protection from cutthroat competition from Pennsylvania wheat farmers. Would you put a tariff on wheat from Pennsylvania? Explain your answer.

One of the arguments against a tariff is that with free trade (that is, no tariff) resources (such as land) are used to their greatest benefit. In the case of New York (assuming New York land is better suited to orchard fruits) it may be best for the wheat farmers to convert their land to producing orchard fruits. Then they can produce more fruit and trade it and receive more wheat in return. New York will have more fruit *and* more wheat by producing what it produces best. This is called the principle of *comparative advantage* - each area produces what it has the greatest advantage over other areas in producing.

Suppose land can produce food in the following quantities:

	New York			Pennsylvania	
	fruit	wheat		fruit	wheat
output per acre	200 bushels	100 bushels	output per acre	100 bushels	200 bushels

New York **with Tariff** (No trade)

100 acres of fruit x 200 bushels = 20,000 bushels of fruit
100 acres of wheat x 100 bushels = 10,000 bushels of wheat
Total output = 30,000 bushels

J-3 A JACKSON

New York | No Tariff | (Trade)

200 acres x 200 bushels = 40,000 bushels of fruit

0 acres of wheat = 0 bushels of wheat

Total output = 40,000 bushels

If 10,000 bushels of fruit are traded for 10,000 bushels of wheat, then New York will end up with:

30,000 bushels of fruit
10,000 bushels of wheat

Total = 40,000 bushels

Notice that without a tariff New York will have 10,000 more bushels of food. If the standard of living of a state is related to the amount of goods produced, then both New York and Pennsylvania will have a higher standard of living by not having a tariff on wheat. Most economists believe that by *not* having a tariff between states, the United States received the benefits of comparative advantage and increased its standard of living.

J-3B JACKSON

PROTEST AGAINST THE TARIFF OF 1828

Petition to Congress by the Virginia Agricultural Society against the Tariff of 1828, rewritten by the author of this booklet.

In protest against the Tariff of 1828, we respectfully submit:

That the tariff protects one type of industry (domestic manufacturing) at the expense of the rest of the people in the country. The tariff puts taxes on those people who consume foreign imports, which is mainly the farmers.

That such a tax is a violation of the duty of government to protect consumers against excessive profits and extravagant prices by industry by leaving competition as free and open as possible. The tariff only encourages monopoly and high prices for consumers.

That by being only a partial tax (that is, a tax on some people, but not on others) the tariff violates the principle that taxes should be equal and should not be adopted for the benefit of one group only. The government should not be an instrument of exclusive privilege by one group.

That hostility to partial taxation, exclusive privileges, and monopolies created by the government was the primary cause of the American Revolution.

That the best societies are those where all the trades and businesses have equal rights and contribute equally to the support of government. This tariff does not give equal rights.

J-4 JACKSON

Directions: Put the information below into an outline:

- Nicholas Biddle
- Greater democracy in the U. S.
- Pet banks
- Used the spoils system
- Nullification
- Born in a log cabin
- The Bank War
- "King Andrew the First"
- Webster-Hayne Debate
- Military hero
- Jackson: the man and president
- More equality of educational opportunity
- Tariff of Abominations
- Rousing parades and rallies
- "The Great Pacificator"
- No land requirement to vote
- Sectionalism
- Increased white male suffrage
- Veto of the U. S. Bank recharter
- Election strategies to get the common man's vote
- Slogans: "Tippecanoe and Tyler Too"
- John C. Calhoun

J-5 JACKSON

Historian A

(I)When Andrew Jackson was elected President in 1828 he symbolized the change in politics from control by the rich aristocrats to control by the common people. (II)The rich had built a system based on an alliance of government and business. (III) This alliance was pushed for or adopted in such policies as the U. S. Bank and the American System. (IV) In the 1820's the common people became increasingly discontented with the Neofederalist program, however. (V) Western farmers blamed the Panic of 1819 on the tight money policies of the U.S. Bank. (VI) Workingmen were also upset by rising prices (which they associated with the U.S. Bank), and by the loss of control and craftsmanship which they experienced in the spreading factory system.

(VII) More of the common people could vote in the 1820's, and this allowed them to elect a president who would represent their interests - Andrew Jackson. (VIII) The new president began immediately to make changes by replacing government officials with representatives of the common people. (IX) He brought in reformers as unofficial advisers (the kitchen cabinet) - people who would help bring about the necessary changes in the rich-dominated system.

(X) One of the symbols of privilege and dominance by the rich was the U.S. Bank. (XI) Under the direction of Nicholas Biddle, the Bank had extensive control over the monetary system (such as prices and credit) of the country. (XII) President Jackson believed that true democracy included equality of economic opportuntiy as well as political equality. (XIII) So, Jackson attacked the Bank. (XIV) When one looks at Jackson's veto message of the Bank recharter he/she sees not a criticism of the Bank in terms of too much inflation or too much of a hard money policy. (XV) Rather, one sees a criticism that the Bank had too much power and gave extensive privileges to the rich. (XVI) Jackson characterized the Bank War as a contest between the ***rich and powerful*** and the ***humble members of society***.

J-5 JACKSON

(XVII) Jackson was extremely popular with the common man after he defeated the U.S. Bank. (XVIII) The rich conservatives were depressed by Jackson's reforms. (XIX) They banded together into the Whig Party in order to defeat their new opponent whom they called ***King Andrew the First.*** (XX) Eventually, the Whigs adopted mass rallies and empty slogans to attract popular support at election time. (XXI) They avoided talking about the issues which Jackson had brought to the nation's attention.

(XXII) As a result, the Whigs regained control of the government in 1840. (XXIII) Conservative policies were reimposed on the country. (XXIV) However, the rich conservatives could not undo most of Jackson's reforms. (XXV) Jackson had established the principles that the lower classes were to have more of a say in the political decisions of the nation, and that the government would play a strong role in the economic system. (XXVI) These principles became the liberal tradition which was reinforced by the other liberal presidents: Theodore Roosevelt, Woodrow Wilson, and Franklin Roosevelt. (XXVII) The rich conservatives criticized the liberal policies as too radical. (XXVIII) However, the result of liberal reform was to keep the capitalists from destroying capitalism.

J-5 JACKSON

Historian B

(I) Liberal historians have characterized the Jacksonian period of American History as a struggle between the liberal viewpoints of the working class (led by the Democratic Party of Andrew Jackson) and the conservative viewpoints of the wealthy class (led by the Whigs). (II) This narrow characterization oversimplifies and distorts a much more complex struggle in the 1820's and 1830's.

(III) First of all, Jackson himself was not a common man, but rather an aristocrat in Tennessee. (IV) Likewise, many of the leading Jacksonians were men of great wealth or men eager to become wealthy. (V) They took political positions to gain the support of workers, but used it to help aspiring capitalists, not workingmen.

(VI) There were, in fact, rich and poor in both the Democratic and Whig Parties. (VII) The whole idea that there was a struggle of the poor (organized in one party) against the rich (united in the other party) is mistaken. (VIII) This is shown in an examination of the two parties in New York State. (IX) Both parties included big and small businessmen, farmers and workers, and used the same slogans and appeals.

(X) Through studying voting patterns one is led to the conclusion that ethnic and religious differences, rather than class differences, are what influenced people to vote for one party over the other. (XI) There really were no significant differences between the Democrats and the Whigs in terms of political-economic ideology (beliefs). (XII) Americans were simply too individualistic to be organized by classes into political parties. (XIII) Almost all Americans believed in liberal ideals such as equality of opportunity. (XIV) Both parties appealed broadly to these ideals and avoided touchy issues. (XV) What the liberal historians have described as a struggle between the parties of the rich and poor was, in reality, a concensus of political beliefs by both parties. (XVI) Americans in the Jacksonian period differed in their viewpoints not because of class differnces, but rather because of ethnic and religious differences. (XVII) Andrew Jackson, far from being the champion of farmers and workers, was an astute politician who used class rhetoric to gain support for his own political ends.

J-5 JACKSON

[1]From Lee Benson, *The Concept of Jacksonian Democracy: New York as a Test Case*, Princeton University Press 1961, pp. 148 - 150, pp. 183 - 185. This information was summarized by the author of this booklet.

In a study of voting patterns in counties in New York State in the 1844 Election two results were noted:

First, within the same county there was no significant relationship between the wealth of towns and how those towns voted in the 1844 Election. That is, some wealthy towns voted overwhelmingly Democrat while other wealthy towns voted overwhelmingly against the Democrats. Likewise, some poor towns voted Democrat while others did not.

For example, in Delaware County two towns (Davenport and Hamden) of about equal economic status (average value of dwelling per family was $305 for Davenport and $502 for Hamden) had completely different voting percentages for the Democrats. Davenport gave the Democrats 81.1 percent of its vote, and Hamden gave 31.8 percent. One of the wealthiest towns (Franklin) gave the Democrats only 44.9 percent of its vote. The richest town in the county (Delhi) and one of the poorest towns (Masonville) gave the Democrats about the same percentage of votes (48.5 percent and 46.8 percent, respectively).

This pattern is the same for all the other counties studied in New York State. Urban areas were not studied since the average value of dwelling per family could not be constructed from the available information.

Second, ethnic group and religous affiliation were very much related to how people voted. We can only estimate group percentages, but the estimates clearly show the basic point that ethnic group and religious group were important. In the 1844 Election Yankees were fairly evenly divided between Whigs (55 percent) and Democrats (45 percent). Negroes voted about 95 percent for the Whigs. Catholic immigrants (Irish, French and French Canadians) voted overwhelmingly Democrat (80 percent to 95 percent) while Protestant immigrants (Irish, Welsh, Scots, and English) voted overwhelmingly Whig (75 percent to 90 percent). It is interesting to note the difference between Catholic and Protestant Irish voting.

These estimates were made by comparing the vote in the counties and towns in the 1844 Election with the ethnic and religious make-up of those counties and towns. The estimates lead to the conclusion that the native Americans were rather evenly divided between the two parties while the immigrant groups leaned strongly for one party or the other.

S-1 SLAVERY

IN DEFENSE OF SLAVERY by George Fitzhugh

(I)Now it has been the practice in all countries and in all ages, in some degree, to develop the type of government according to the wants, intelligence, and moral level of the nations or individuals to be governed. A highly moral and intellectual people, like the free citizens of ancient Athens, are best governed by a democracy. (II) Now, it is clear that Athenian democracy would not suit a Negro nation, nor will the government of mere law suffice for the individual Negro. (III) He is but a grown-up child, and must be governed as a child. The master occupies towards him the place of parent or guardian.

(IV)Secondly, the Negro is improvident; he will not lay up in summer for the wants of winter; he will not accumulate in youth for the needs of old age. (V) He would become an insufferable burden to society. (VI) Society has the right to prevent this, and can only do so by subjecting him to domestic slavery.

(VII)In the last place, the Negro race is inferior to the white race, and living in their midst, they would be far outstripped or outwitted in the chase of free competition. Gradual but certain extermination would be their fate.

(VIII) We would remind those who criticize Nego slavery, that his slavery here relieves him from a far more cruel slavery in Africa, or from idolatry (false religions) and cannabalism, and every brutal vice and crime that can disgrace humanity; (IX) and that it christianizes, protects, supports and civilizes him; that it governs him far better than free laborers at the North are governed. (X)There, wife-murder has become a mere holiday pastime; and where so many wives are murdered, almost all must be brutally treated. Nay more: men who kill their wives or treat them brutally, must be ready for all kinds of crime, and the calendar of crime at the North proves the inference to be correct. Negroes never kill their wives. If it be objected that legally they have no wives, then we reply, that in an experience of more than forty years, we never yet heard of a Negro man killing a Negro woman. (XI) Our Negroes are not only better off as to physical comforts than free laborers, but their moral condition is better.

S-2 SLAVERY

AN ARGUMENT ON SLAVERY

(I) Several million persons in the Southern States are held as slaves by force and fear, and for no crime! (II) Reader, what do you think of such treatment? (III) Suppose I should kidnap you, take your liberty away, and make you work in my fields without pay for as long as you live? (IV) Everybody knows that the slaveholders do these very things to the slaves all the time. (V) Yet some people say that the slaveholders treat the slaves kindly, that they love their slaves and never are cruel to them.

(VI) We will prove that slaves in the U.S. are treated inhumanely. (VII) They are overworked and underfed. (VIII) Their clothing and housing are terrible. (IX) They are made to wear iron collars with prongs around their necks. (X) They are frequently whipped with terrible severity and have red pepper rubbed into their cuts, and hot brine and turpentine poured over their gashes to increase the torture. (XI) We will show that these facts are true by the testimony of hundreds of eyewitnesses, including slaveholders. (XII) We will show, not merely that such things are done, but that they are frequent, not in one of the slave states, but all of them.

S-3A SLAVERY

HISTORIAN A

Slaves who worked out in the fields were fed corn and pork almost entirely. This was a monotonous diet which surely caused vitamin and mineral deficiencies (not enough vitamins or minerals). This diet would be high in calories, however.

HISTORIAN B

(I) Historians who argue slaves were poorly fed are wrong. (II) Slaves were fed enough of both calories and nutrients (vitamins and minerals). These historians think slaves ate only corn and pork. (III) However, they overlook the fact that many other foods are mentioned in plantation documents. (IV) I can tell from my study of the 1860 census that slaves did not eat exclusively corn and pork. (V) Almost one third of the food they ate was not corn or pork. (VI) This may not be too exciting by our standards of diet today, but there are enough other foods to show that slaves ate a good diet.

(VII) I calculate that slaves ate 4,185 calories per day which certainly shows that they were not underfed in terms of quantity. (VIII) From this number of calories I get the following percentages of Recommended Daily Allowances of vitamins and minerals:

Item	Per cent	Item	Per cent
Protein	212	Thiamine	475
Calcium	120	Riboflavin	151
Iron	338	Niacin	173
Vitamin A	1,270	Vitamin C	252

(IX) This chart shows that slaves got more than the Recommended Daily Allowances of all the major nutrients.

(X) Thus, slaves were well fed in terms of both calories and nutrition.

S-3A SLAVERY

HISTORIAN C

(I) Historians have debated how well slaves were fed for many years. (II) They have studied this topic by looking at what slaves probably ate and then figuring out what nutrients (vitamins and minerals) were contained in those foods. (III) There is a different way to figure out if slaves were well fed, however. (IV) If one looks at the illnesses which slaves suffered, he/she can discover if many of the illnesses were related to nutritional causes. (V) If slaves suffered nutritional diseases then we can conclude that they were poorly fed in terms of nutrients, despite the fact that they received a high calorie diet.

(VI) I studied diseases in slave children and found that many of the diseases were related to poor diet, such as tetany, dental caries (cavities), rickets, edema, convulsions, suffocation, pica and worms.

(VII) Pica, or dirt (or clay) eating, was a common practice among slaves. There are several possible causes for it. (VIII) The best explanation is that pica is caused by a deficiency of calcium, magnesium, potassium, and iron. (IX) The dirt eaten by slaves was rich in these minerals. (X) Moreover, patients today who are given these four minerals stop eating the dirt.

(XI) So slaves were deficient (did not get enough) in several nutrients. (XII) Specifically, they didn't get enough of calcium, magnesium, vitamin D, and iron. (XIII) This is proven by the diseases slaves suffered.

HISTORIAN D

A study of the slave diet in Georgia and Florida from 1800 to 1860 leads one to the conclusion that slaves were well fed in terms of calories (5,510 to 6,306 calories per day) and nutrition (getting all the major vitamins and minerals). My study used a variety of sources, including plantation records and government documents, to support these conclusions.

S-3B SLAVERY

RELEVANT INFORMATION:

1. Slavery in the U. S. lasted from about 1670 to 1865.
2. There were millions of slaves in the U. S. over this time period (four million in 1860 alone). The slaves were in the Southern states only.
3. The highest proportion of slaves in the U. S. worked on cotton plantations, but many others worked on tobacco, sugar, and indigo plantations, and still others worked in other occupations.
4. Slaves had a wide variety of tasks on U. S. plantations and lived significantly differently from one another.
5. Blacks have different nutritional characteristics than whites:

    a. Blacks suffer from sickle cell anemia--this would require them to have a higher iron and folic acid requirement.

    b. Black pigmentation--this would reduce the absorption of vitamin D from the sun, thus increasing the amount required from diet.

    c. Lactose intolerance--this would cause them to get sick when they drink animal milk. Without drinking animal milk, it would be very difficult for them to get enough calcium.

6. A deficiency of calcium and vitamin D would make it difficult for blacks to absorb other nutrients.
7. Vitamin D is absorbed from the sun. It is highly unlikely to get enough from food. (That's why they fortify milk with Vitamin D today).
8. It is unusual not to get enough magnesium from food. Alcoholics sometimes suffer from magnesium deficiency (DT's) because they eat little food. One meal per day is enough to prevent it.

9. The slave population in the U. S. increased by reproduction. That is, slaves lived long enough to cause the slave population to increase.

10. Potassium is readily available in a wide variety of foods. It is difficult not to get enough. It also is easily lost through diarrhea or vomiting.

11. Calcium is available in dairy products, leafy green vegetables, and molasses.

12. The main source of iron is red meat (beef, etc.). However, the pork slaves ate was probably mostly fat, not meat, so it was lower in iron. Molasses is high in iron.

13. Slaves ate a lot of corn, pork, and molasses.

S-3B SLAVERY

I. HISTORIANS A (1918), B (1924), C (1936), D 1956).

Slave adult field hands were issued a standard ration of 3½pounds of *salt pork* and 1 peck (about 8 quarts or 4 liters) of corn meal per week. These historians conclude that this is a monotonous diet which would cause deficiencies in vitamins and minerals, despite the fact it would be high in calories.

II. HISTORIAN E (HYPOTHETICAL)

Slaves were well fed as evidenced by their hard work. You can't do all that work without having eaten a lot of food for energy. Historians A, B, C, D, are wrong in saying that slaves were poorly fed.

III. HISTORIANS F and G (1974)

Historians who feel slaves were poorly fed are wrong. Slaves were adequately fed in both calories and nutrients. Historians who feel that slaves were fed only pork and corn base their views on instructions by some masters to their overseers. However, they overlook the fact that plantation documents include many other foods besides pork and corn; for example, beef, mutton, chickens, milk, turnip, peas, squashes, sweet potatoes, apples, plums, oranges, pumpkins, peaches, salt, sugar, coffee, molasses, fish, and whiskey.

Looking at the plantation from a different perspective gives a different view of the slave diet. By taking the livestock inventories and crop yields from the 1860 census we can use conversion tables to find out the meat and food productions. We then subtract out a small percentage of food consumed by whites (whites formed less than 10 per cent of the population that we sampled), a small percentage fed to animals (since mainly corn was fed to animals) and a small percentage of beef and pork which would be sold off the plantation. What is left is what was consumed by the slaves. What other historians have failed to ask themselves is: If these other foods were not being consumed by slaves, where were they going? By this estimate we get these percentages of energy derived by slaves from foods:

	Percent of Energy		Calories
Pork	13.0	Subtotal	543
Corn	54.1	67.1	2,265
Cowpeas	10.2	Subtotal	427
Sweet Potatoes	10.1	32.9	424
Other food	12.6		526
Totals	100.0		4,185

It is obvious from this analysis that slaves enjoyed a more varied diet than just corn and pork.

From the number of calories consumed per day we calculate that slaves had the following percentages of Recommended Daily Allowances:

Protein	212
Calcium	120
Iron	338
Vitamin A	1,270
Riboflavin	151
Niacin	173
Vitamin C	252

So slaves exceeded the RDA of all the major nutrients.

S-3B SLAVERY
IV. HISTORIAN H (1975)

Historians F and G are wrong in their interpretations that slaves were well fed.

First, they claim that there were many foods mentioned in plantation documents. No doubt they were mentioned somewhere at some time in the South. This doesn't prove the slaves ate these foods frequently or even occasionally. Just because one plantation in Virginia mentioned turnips in its records from 1820 doesn't prove that slaves regularly ate turnips.

Second, Historians F and G incorrectly estimate the residue (what is left over) of food left for slaves to eat. They convert livestock inventories and crop yields to food output by using conversion tables. But the conversion tables are from 1900, not 1860. In 1900 the commercial food processing industry had arisen and better techniques were used for converting crops and meat to food. The result is that they have *under*estimated the quantity of pork and corn produced and *over*estimated the quantities of meats, grains and milk.

Third, the sample of plantations that Historians F and G use to derive the residue of food consumed by slaves is weak. It is only for plantations with more than 50 slaves which were 50 miles or more from a city. Slaves were probably better fed on larger plantations

Fourth, Historians F and G underestimate the amount of food besides corn that was fed to animals. For example, five responses to a U. S. Patent Office questionnaire in 1849 show that cowpeas were fed to hogs and cattle, and used as fertilizer.

By using Historian F and G's figures but correcting for their mistakes, one gets the following results:

Food	Per cent of Energy Derived		Calories per Day
Pork	16.3	Subtotal	685
Corn	66.6	82.9	2,803
Cowpeas	3.5		149
Sweet Potatoes	5.5	Subtotal 17.1	233
Other Foods	8.0		336
TOTALS	100.0		4,206

One can see that, as historians have concluded for years, slaves were fed a monotonous diet of corn and pork, and very little of other foods. The high number of calories certainly exceeds what is consumed today, but was not excessive for the work slaves had to do. In fact, it would appear that 4,206 calories would be enough for a ***lightly*** to ***moderately*** worked slave. If a slave were worked harder than this he would begin to suffer. It would seem that the slave diet was not generous, but simply allowed a person to work like a slave.

V. HISTORIANS F and G (1975)

Historian H has attacked our thesis that slaves were adequately fed. This attack is only on the nutritional adequacy of the slave diet, however, for Historian H accepts the high calorie content that we proposed.

We believe that there are many errors in Historian H's argument, but we will begin by accepting his revisions.

One interesting point is that Historian H's revised diet for slaves would have cost slaveowners 7 cents more per slave per day. He does not address this question: Why did slaveowners prefer a narrow diet, lacking in variety, when they could have simultaneously increased variety and reduced cost without any loss in energy value?

Historian H also does not show the nutritive value resulting from his revised diet. The values exceed the Recommended Daily Allowances of protein, calcium, iron, vitamin A,thiamine, niacin, and vitamin C. Only riboflavin is below recommended levels, although it is still well above minimum levels (Minimum Daily Requirements).

One should not accept Historian H's diet, however. He assumes that slave foods were limited to the 10 foods he has listed. True, we also limited our analysis to 10 foods, but this is because we wanted to prove that even this limited diet shows that slaves had a nutritionally adequate diet. Recent data gained from the Federal Writer's Project of the W. P. A. (This project from the 1930's interviewed old people who had been slaves before 1865. So most of the people were 80 years old or older.) of nearly 2,000 interviews shows that slaves ate, to a significant extent, many other foods than those allotted to them by their owners, including fish, game, chicken, molasses,

and many vegetables. These other foods add to the nutrient intake of slaves and lend further evidence to the contention that slaves achieved a nutritionally adequate diet.

There are many other defects in Historian H's argument, but this discussion will suffice to show that he has done little to weaken our argument.

VI. HISTORIANS I AND J (1977)

Other historians have looked at how much food slaves probably ate to evaluate the nutritional adequacy of the slave diet. Another approach, however, is to look at slave illnesses related to nutritional deficiencies. If slaves suffered nutritional diseases then we can conclude that they were poorly fed in terms of nutrients. We studied diseases in slave children and found that many of the diseases were related to diet, such as tetany, dental caries, rickets, edema, convulsions, suffocation, pica, worms, and others. Many diseases suffered by slave children were diagnosed as some other disease when they may have been tetany (a nutritional disease), which has symptoms in common with other diseases.

Pica, or clay eating, a practice prevalent among slaves, has several possible causes. One theory is that it is sociological. Our view is that it is caused by a deficiency of calcium, magnesium, potassium, and iron. The dirt eaten by the slaves is rich in these minerals, and patients treated with these minerals stop eating dirt.

Overall, slaves were deficient in four nutrients: calcium, magnesium, vitamin D, and iron. The deficiencies caused nutritional diseases among slaves.

S-3B SLAVERY

VII. HISTORIANS K, L, M (1980)

Our study of the slave diet in Georgia and Florida from 1800 to 1860 leads us to the conclusion that slaves were able to supplement their allotment of corn and pork to achieve a nutritional diet. The typical diet of an adult male slave was 5,510 calories per day, and intake of all the major vitamins and minerals (protein, calcium, potassium, iron, thiamine, niacin, riboflavin, vitamin A, and vitamin C) exceeded the Recommended Daily Allowance by a minimum of 200 percent. The diet for a ***prime hand***, one who did the most strenuous tasks, was 6,306 calories per day.

We used data from a variety of sources in our study: plantation records and documents, journals of the period, government documents on climate and production, manuals on slave care, plantation archeological reports, and zooarcheological reports.

S-4A SLAVERY

HISTORIAN A (1959)

(I) The topic of slavery in the United States has been studied for many years by historians. (II) One question about which historians have disagreed is how bad slavery was. (III) Some historians have said that slavery in the U. S. wasn't that bad, but they are wrong. (IV) Actually, slavery in the U. S. was like a concentration camp in Nazi Germany in many ways.

(V) Unlike slaveowners in other countries, slaveowners in the U. S. had almost complete power over their slaves. (VI) Owners could beat their slaves with little worry of government interference.

(VII) Slaves in the U. S. had no civil rights, right to own property, right to marry or any other rights.[1] (VIII) American slaves could not leave the plantation without the owner's (or overseer's) permission, so they were under the absolute control of their owners.[2]

(IX) The result of this total dependence of the slave on the owner was the "Sambo" personality. (X) Slaves acted like Samboes—that is, they passively did whatever they were told. (XI) They didn't work hard or do anything with a lot of energy; they just shuffled around and didn't cause any trouble for the slaveowners. (XII) There is a lot of evidence to show that many slaves acted like Samboes.[3]

(XIII) This passive Sambo personality is just what people exhibited (acted like) in concentration camps in Hitler's Germany.[4]

(XIV) Like the slaveowners, the guards in the concentration camps (called S. S.) had almost complete control over the prisoners. (XV) The prisoners passively accepted the cruelties and tortures and offered no resistance. (XVI) There were few revolts—even when the prisoners were being herded into gas chambers.[5]

(XVII) It is obvious that slaves acted, in many respects, like people in concentration camps. (XVIII) Slavery destroyed the personality of slaves in addition to denying them freedom. (XIX) Slavery in the United States was incredibly bad.

S-4A SLAVERY

HISTORIAN A (1959)

Footnotes (Quotes indicate direct quote from the source.)

[1]William Goodell, *The American Slave Code in Theory and Practice.* (New York: American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, 1853), p. 92.

> "A slave is in absolute bondage (in the United States); he has no civil rights, and can hold no property, except at the will and pleasure of his master."

[2]John Codman Hurd, *The Law of Freedom and Bondage in the United States* (Boston Little, Brown, 1958), I, p. 232.

> Should a white man be attacked by a slave and be injured or maimed, the punishment was automatically death. A 1669 Virginia law declared it not a serious crime if a master or overseer killed a slave who resisted punishment.

[3]Samuel Eliot Morison and Henry Steele Commager, *The Growth of the American Republic* (a textbook used in high school history courses).

[4]Bruno Bettleheim, "Individual and Mass Behavior in Extreme Situations," *Journal of Abnormal Psychology*, XXXVIII (October, 1943), p. 141.

> "The prisoners developed types of behavior which are characteristic of infancy or early youth."

[5]Eugene Kogon, *The Theory and Practice of Hell* (New York: Farrar, Straus, 1946), p. 284.

> "With a few altogether insignificant exceptions, the prisoners, no matter in what form they were led to execution, whether singly, in groups, or in masses, never fought back!"

S-4A SLAVERY

HISTORIAN B (1974)

(I) Slavery in the United States has been subjected to close study by historians. (II) The accepted view of slavery is that it was extremely bad. (III) Supporters of this position argue that, in addition to depriving slaves of their freedom, American slavery treated slaves brutally, crushed their personalities, and prevented them from getting the basic necessities of life (food, clothing, and shelter). (IV) The accepted view exaggerates the bad aspects of slavery, however. (V) Generally, slaves were treated well by their masters.

(VI) Previous historians have been incorrect in their interpretation of slavery, because they haven't looked at enough information. (VII) My viewpoint is better, because I have looked at more facts, using computers, than other historians have studied. (VIII) The use of computers in this way marks the beginning of a scientifically objective view of slavery.

(IX) The belief by some historians that slaves did not get the basic necessities of food, clothing, and shelter is mistaken. (X) Slaves ate a diet which gave them over 100 percent of the Recommended Daily Allowances (RDA) for all nutrients,[1] and their clothing was as good as freemen's clothing of the same time period. (XI) Slave housing was also as good as, or better than, free housing. (XII) The typical slave house was 18 by 20 feet, which provided more sleeping space than New York City workers had in 1893.[2]

(XIII) Although slaves were sometimes whipped, usually they were not physically abused. (XIV) The idea that the slaveowners relied on the whip alone to get slaves to work hard is a highly misleading myth. (XV) The records of a plantatio owned by Bennet Barrow show that there were only 0.7 whippings per slave per year. (That is, for every 10 slaves on the plantation, there were 7 whippings per year.)[3]

(XVI) Slaveowners more often used positive incentives, such as prizes, year-end bonuses, or grants of land to get slaves to work harder.

(XVII) As a result, slaves identified with their masters and worked very hard. (XVIII) Slave workers were just as or more efficient than free white farm workers in the North in the same

time period. (XIX) Plantations had greater output per worker per year than Northern farms.[4] (That is, a slave might put out 1,000 bushels of a crop per year, while a Northern white worker might put out 900 bushels).

(XX) Overall, slavery was not that bad. (XXI) While it deprived slaves of freedom, it also provided adequate food, clothing, and shelter. (XXII) Slaveowners did not beat their slaves excessively. (XVIII) Rather, slaves cooperated with their owners in a highly efficient system to produce the most crops and achieve the greatest profit. (XXIV) That slavery was not actually that bad is proven when slaves were freed after the Civil War. (XXV) It was quickly apparent that the blacks were worse off as freedmen than they had been as slaves.

S-4B SLAVERY

HISTORIAN B

Footnotes

[1]The Nutritional Value of the Slave Diet: Average Slave Consumption of Various Nutrients in 1860 as a Percentage of Modern Recommended Daily Allowances: (calculation by Historian B.)

(100 percent would be all a person would need of each nutrient.)

Nutrient	Percent	Nutrient	Percent
Protein	212	Thiamine	475
Calcium	120	Riboflavin	151
Iron	338	Niacin	173
Vitamin A	1,270	Vitamin C	252

[2]U. S. Bureau of Labor Special Report, *The Slums of Baltimore, Chicago, New York, and Philadelphia*, 1894, pp. 12, 23, 24.

[3]From the diary of Bennet H. Barrow, owner of a Louisiana plantation, 1840-1842. His plantation numbered about 200 slaves, of whom about 120 were in the labor force. The record shows that over the course of two years a total of 160 whippings were administered, or 80 each year. About half the workers were not whipped at all during the two year period.

[4] Southern agriculture as a whole was about 35 percent more efficient than Northern agriculture in 1860. Southern slave farms were 28 percent more efficient than Southern free farms.

S-4B SLAVERY

HISTORIAN A (1959)

Slavery has existed in many countries through the course of human history, as well as in the U. S. until 1865. The questions which historians have repeatedly been
1 confronted with are: How bad was slavery in the U. S.? What effect did slavery in the U. S. have on the slaves personally, and on slaves as families? The answers to these questions are important to resolve.

Basically, slavery in the U. S. was much worse than slavery in other countries and had a much more severe
2 effect on the slaves. American slavery was comparable in many ways to a concentration camp. It took away personal initiative from slaves and destroyed their personalities.

Unlike slavery elsewhere, slavery in the U. S. had no institutions (the church, government) to either oppose the slaveowners, or to control slavery for the benefit of the slaves.[1] Slaveowners in the U. S. had complete control, as
3 well as dominance, over their slaves. In contrast to relatively "open" systems of slavery in other countries, slavery in the U. S. was a "closed" system. This contrast can be illustrated by comparing the slave systems in Latin America and the U. S.

In Latin America slavery was a relatively "open" system. Slaves there had certain rights and some possibilities to develop themselves personally.[2] The church (especially the Catholic Church) and the mercantile governments of the
4 European Powers ruling the Latin American countries intervened frequently in the slave system.[3] The slaveowner had to be conscious of the clergy and government officials in his dealings with his slaves. As a result, the harshness of slavery was softened considerably.

Slaves in Latin America were not automatically slaves forever; they could purchase their own freedom.[4] Slaves were thought to have immortal souls and, as such, were to be legally married and receive the sacraments.[5] Masters'
5 disciplinary power over slaves was limited by the laws of the government. Masters were liable for the murder of their slaves.[6] Although the law was violated, and owners sometimes were cruel to their slaves, the laws were not as

HISTORIAN A (1959)

widely violated as they were in the U. S.[7] Government officials and priests regularly checked to see if slaves had been mistreated. One of the rights that slaves had was to own property. Lastly, slaves in Latin America regularly had contacts with the rest of society.[8] One of the results of this was a much higher rate of intermarriage than in the U. S.

In the U. S. slavery was a "closed" system. Slaves had almost no rights and were totally dependent upon their masters for almost everything.[9] The term of servitude in the U. S. was for life; slaves couldn't buy their freedeom.[10] There was no recognition of marriage or the family. Slaves were to be sold to the highest bidder even if it meant breaking up the family.[11] Conversion to Christianity
6 meant no difference in status or treatment as slaves.[12] Slaves as property took precedence over slaves as human beings.[13] They had no civil rights, right to own property, or any other rights.[14] Slaves were limited to the plantation-they had little contact with the rest of society. They were isolated on the plantation under the absolute control of their owners, to whom they were to give complete obedience.[15] The masters exercised such extensive power because there were no governmental restrictions on them.[16]

The result of the closed system of slavery in the U. S. was to destroy the personality of the slave; that is, to reduce his behavior to that of a child. Historians have long noticed the "Sambo" personality among slaves.[17] Sambo was a docile, irresponsible person, a perpetual child incapable of mature
7 behavior. He passively did whatever he was told. He had no initiative, and he offered no resistance to slavery. Some people have contended that this is just another white stereotype of blacks, yet abundant evidence proves that the personality type did exist in the U. S.

Since there is no evidence of the Sambo personality in slavery in Latin America, one is left with the conclusion that the Sambo personality must be the result of the
8 authoritarian nature of American slavery. The absolute power of the slaveowners over their slaves, but not necessarily the cruelty of the masters, was enough to produce Sambo.

S-4B SLAVERY

HISTORIAN A (1959)

Many of the blacks brought to the U. S. as slaves had been warriors or had held high positions in their advanced civilizations.[18] They were transformed into Samboes as a result of their enslavement. There was the shock of being caught and enslaved, and the several-week march to the coast. The next shock was their sale to the Europeans. They were put into pens and branded. Blacks rejected as slaves were left to starve.[19] The cruelist step was the middle
9 passage on slave ships across the Atlantic Ocean. The slaves were packed in and chained down in the hold of their ship for two months, where they remained amidst their own vomit and excrement.[20] If they made it this far they were introduced to severe masters and conditions in the West Indies. Lastly they were transported and sold to owners in the U. S. By this time two-thirds of the slaves had died.[21]

After all these shocks to their personalities, the slaves could not be expected to exhibit aggressive behavior. They had to look for new cues for the type of behavior expected of
10 them in America. Since the master had complete control and authority, the only person the slave could look to was the master. The master became like a father. The result was a childlike personality that was dependent upon the master-- Sambo.

With this dependent personality of the slaves in the U. S. there was little chance for organized revolt against the slaveowners. Whereas there were many slave revolts in Latin America, some of them amounting to full-scale wars,
11 there were very few in the U. S. Moreover, the few revolts in the U. S. were led by non-slaves.[22] This phenomenon supports the view that slaves in the U. S. were docile Samboes, whereas slaves in Latin America retained much of their personalities, including their will to resist.

S-4B SLAVERY

HISTORIAN A (1959)

The striking aspect of the slavery in the U. S., and especially the Sambo personality, is its similarity to personality changes in concentration camps under Hitler's Germany. Like the slaveowners, the guards (called SS) had
12 **absolute power over the inmates. The SS became father figures even though they were so brutal, since they were the only figures of authority. Inmates accepted the values of the SS, and most inmates did not hate the SS when they were released (they showed no emotion).[23]**

Brutalities were so great in concentration camps that inmates soon felt that the brutalities were not happening to them. They testified years later that they had felt separate from their bodies. The tortures were happening to their
13 **bodies, but not to them. It was like watching someone else being tortured. The unreal self became the real self.[24] There were few cases of resistance to the guards or revolts in concentration camps - even when they were being herded into gas chambers! There were few cases of suicide - the inmates had completely passive personalities.[25]**

It is obvious that there are striking parallels between personality traits exhibited in the concentration camp and in slavery in the U. S. The effects of slavery in the U. S. on blacks were profound. Their personalities were destroyed, and, as such, their ability to form meaningful relationships
14 **and families were destroyed. Since these awful consequences did not exist in slavery elsewhere, the conclusion is inescapable that it was the unchecked and complete power of the slaveowners, the closed nature of the system in the U. S., which led to the childlike Sambo personality.**

End notes - Quotes show a direct quote from the source. No quotes are a summary of the source.

[23]Richard Hildreth, *The History of the United States of America* (New York: Harper), 1858, VI, 597.

[24]Sir Harry Johnston, *The Negro in the New World* (London: Methuen, 1910), p. 89.

"Slavery under the flag of Portugal (in Brazil) or of Spain was not a condition without hope, a life in hell, as it was for the most part in the British West Indies and, above all, Dutch Guiana and the Southern United States."

S-4B SLAVERY
HISTORIAN A (1959)
Endnotes

[3]Fernando Ortiz, *Los Negros Esclavos* (Havana, Revista bimestra Cuban, 1916) pp. 334-35.

> In Spain and Spanish colonies there was a body of law governing slavery, while in the English colonies (including the United States) there was no pre-existing law. "Perhaps it is due to this circumstance that the slave legislation of the English colonies (including the United States) was more severe than the Spanish, and that the master's power to which the slave was subjected in the former was more absolute and uncontrollable."

[4]William Law Mathieson, *British Slavery and Its Abolition* (London: Longmans, Green, 1926), pp. 37-38.

> "In the Cuban market, freedom was the only commodity which could be bought untaxed; every negro against whom no one had proved a claim of servitude was deemed free."

[5]Johnston, p. 43.

> "According to the first item of the Spanish code, 'Every one who has slaves is obliged to instruct them in the principles of the Roman Catholic religion and in the necessary truths in order that the slaves may be baptized within the (first) year of their residence in the Spanish dominions.'"

[6]Johnston, pp. 45-46.

[7]Carl Berns Wadstrom, *An Essay on Colonization* . . . (London: Darton and Harvey, 1794), p. 151.

> "The Spaniards, Portuguese and Danes are undoubtedly the best masters of slaves." The English and Dutch were, in his opinion, the worst.

[8]*Life in Brazil, or the Land of the Cocoa and the Palm* (New York: Harper, 1856), p. 267.

> Thomas Ewbank (an English traveler in Brazil) wrote in the 1850's: "I have passed black ladies in silks and jewelry with male slaves in livery behind them. . . several with white husbands. The first doctor of the city is a colored man; so is the President of the Province."

[9]J. B. D. DeBow, *Industrial Resources* (1852-53), II, p. 249.

> "On our estates (plantations in the United States) we dispense with the whole machinery of public police and public courts of justice. Thus we try, decide and execute the sentences in thousands of cases, which in other countries would go into courts."

[10]John Codman Hurd, *The Law of Freedom and Bondage in the United States* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1958), I, p. 303.

> The slaves in the United States had become "chattels personal." That is, they were totally controlled by their owners.

[11]Helen T. Catterall, *Judicial Cases Concerning American Slavery and the Negro* (Washington: Carnegie Institution, 1926), II, p. 221.

> ". . . with slaves it (marriage) may be dissolved at the pleasure of either party, or by the sale of one or both, depending on the caprice or necessity of the owners."

[12]William Hand Browne (ed.), *Archives of Maryland* (Baltimore, 1844), II, p. 272.

> Maryland law of 1671 stated that any Christianized slave shall remain a slave.

S-4B SLAVERY
HISTORIAN A (1959)

Endnotes

[13]Hurd, I, pp. 43-43.

> "In slavery (in the United States), strictly so called, the supreme power of the state, in ignoring the personality of the slave, ignores his capacity for moral action, and commits the control of his conduct as a moral agent, to the master."

[14]William Goodell, *The American Slave Code in Theory and Practice* (New York: American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, 1853), p. 92.

> "A slave is in absolute bondage (in the United States); he has no civil right, and can hold no property, except at the will and pleasure of his master."

[15]Hurd, I, p. 232.

> Should a white man be attacked by a slave and be injured or maimed, the punishment was automatically death. A 1669 Virginia law declared it not a felony (that is, not a serious crime) if a master or overseer killed a slave who resisted punishment.

[16]Hurd, I, pp. 42-43. See the quote in footnote 13 above.

[17]Samuel Eliot Morison and Henry Steel Commanger, *The Growth of the American Republic* (a textbook on U. S. History used in high school history courses).

[18]E. F. Ward, *A History of the Gold Coast* (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1948), pp. 107-119. See also C. K. Meek, *Law and Authority in a Nigerian Tribe: A Study in Indirect Rule* (London: Oxford University Press, 1937), pp. 88-164, 206-251.

[19]Fowell Buxton, *Letters on the Slave Trade to the Lord Viscount Melbourne* (London, 1838), pp. 34-38, 41-44.

[20]*An Abstract of the Evidence Delivered Before a Select Committee of the House of Commons in the Years 1790 and 1791; on the Part of the Petitioners for the Abolition of the Slave Trade (London, 1791).*

[21]Frank Tannenbaum, *Slave and Citizen* (New York: Knopf, 1947), p. 28.

[22]Herbert Aptheker, *American Negro Slave Revolts* (New York: Columbia University, 1943, *passim.*

[23]Bruno Bettleheim, "Individual and Mass Behavior in Extreme Situations," *Journal of Abnormal Psychology*, XXXVIII (October, 1943), p. 141.

> "The prisoners developed types of behavior which are characteristic of infancy or early youth."

Elie Cohen, *Human Behavior in the Concentration Camp* (New York: Norton, 1953), pp. 176-177.

> "Only very few of the prisoners escaped a more or less intensive identification with the S. S. (the guards). For all of us the S. S. was a father image. . ."

[24]Olga Lengyel, *Five Chimneys: The Story of Auschwitz* (Chicago, 1947), p. 20.

> "I arrived at that state of numbness where I was no longer sensitive to either club or whip. I lived through the rest of that scene as a spectator."

[25]Eugen Kogon, *The Theory and Practice of Hell* (New York: Farrar, Straus, 1946), p. 284.

> "With a few altogether insignificant exceptions, the prisoners, no matter what form they were led to execution, whether singly, in groups, or in masses, never fought back!"

S-4B SLAVERY

HISTORIAN B (1972)

Slavery in the U. S. has been the subject of a great deal of study and debate. Historians have been confronted with
1 some important questions. How bad was slavery in the U. S.? What effect did slavery have on the slave personally, and on slaves as families?

Of course, slavery in the U. S. was terrible since it denied the freedom of the slaves. Nevertheless, there were aspects of it which were not so bad. Slavery in the U. S. did not
2 crush the personalities or the families of the slave. Slaves had many ways of resisting total physical and psychological domination, and they were able to maintain their own community.

Where other historians have gone wrong in their views of slavery is that they did not look at enough evidence by the slaves themselves. Instead, historians have looked more at the views of plantation owners. This book is based
3 primarily on the testimony of slaves and, therefore, views slavery more correctly—through the eyes of those it affected most. It is true that slaves were biased in their views of slavery and that slave narratives must be used with caution. Nevertheless, slave views are important to a study of the institution of slavery and need to be examined.

The evil involved in slavery is apparent from even a cursory examination. In the voyage to America 16 percent of the slaves died.[1] Suicides and mutinies occurred on voyages, and suicides were not uncommon in America.[2]
4 Enslavement and importation to America destroyed many of the cultural forms and customs of the slaves' advanced societies in Africa.[3] In the U.S. slaves worked very long hours against their wills, and some masters irrationally flogged (whipped) their slaves.[4]

The bad aspects of slavery were not complete, however, and allowed slaves to retain their own culture. Many old African customs survived slavery and blended with white American culture, such as music, dance, folk tales, words
5 and idioms, spiritual ideas, voodoo, drums, funeral rites, etc.[5] The shocks of enslavement and the middle passage (voyage to America) have been exaggerated since most slaves in the U. S. were born in America, not imported. Despite some brutalities, most slaves were not tortured or beaten excessively.[6]

Since slaves had their own unique forms of recreation, songs, tales, and religion, they had a significant personal life outside of slavery. These ways promoted group solidarity and prevented total dependence on the master. Slaves engaged in recreation since slave quarters were usually free of white control. Sunday was almost always a day of rest, there were periodic festivals, and slaves could move around at night since night patrols by whites were ineffective.[7] Slave songs expressed their lives (love, work, floggings),
6 made fun of masters, made folk heroes of rebellious slaves, and were entertainment.[8] Tales were used to entertain people and to teach children how to survive in slavery. They showed the weaker characters (slaves) outwitting the stronger characters (masters), as in "Brer Rabbit," and often made fools of whites.[9] Masters attempted to control slave religion by stressing, for example, "obey your masters," but when slaves were unsupervised they had their own beliefs. Their God was a personal God of freedom and comfort.[10]

Since slaves could escape total psychological domination in U. S. slavery, they did not become infantile personalities, or Samboes, as happened in concentration camps. Even captured blacks were not docile, even with the
7 shock of enslavement.[11] The group solidarity exhibited in America through recreation, etc. is not seen in concentration camps where each individual was almost totally isolated. Group suppport would help prevent degeneration into infantile personalities.

That slaves took the initiative to frequently run away shows their will to resist and their lack of infantile and passive personalties. Slaves ran away despite overwhelming odds against them - freedom was the slaves' greatest yearning.[12] Some runaways banded together in maroon communities and conducted guerrilla wars against whites. Some of these runaways made alliances
8 with the Seminole Indians.[13] While it is true that there were fewer slave revolts in the U. S. than in Latin America, this was not due to more passive slaves in America. Rather it was due to high slave-to-white ratios in Latin America (7 to 1 in British West Indies, 11 to 1 in Haiti) and to a shortage of troops there. These factors gave slave revolts a higher probability for success in Latin America.[14]

HISTORIAN B (1972)

Actually, there were three stereotyped characters in Southern literature on slaves, not just Sambo. The most common was Sambo, the faithful, loyal, humorous, dishonest, and docile slave.[15] There were two others,
9 however–Jack and Nat. Jack worked faithfully but only as long as he was not pushed beyond a certain point. He worked only so hard. Nat was a revengeful, bloodthirsty rebel. He defied all the rules of the plantation and was a chronic runaway.[16]

The Sambo stereotype does not accurately describe most slaves. It is a typical unflattering view of the lowest caste in many slave societies throughout history, even in Brazil.[17] It tells us more about the white owners than the slaves. Many whites believed blacks were inferior since it helped relieve them of the burden of thinking of blacks as men. In reality,
10 however, whites did not treat slaves as Samboes. Why did they have such great fear of rebellion if slaves were passive?[18] Constant surveillance was necessary to control slaves. If all slaves were Samboes it would have guaranteed economic ruin to their masters, since little work would have been done.

The world of the plantation in the U. S. was much different than the world of the concentration camp. Slaves were not kept at starvation levels (though they were rarely
11 satisfied with the food, clothing and shelter provided), so slaves were not just concentrating on survival. The concentration camp was much more brutal than U. S. slavery.[19]

The slaves were an economic asset which guaranteed them more safety from cruelty than concentration camp inmates. While less than one per cent of inmates survived in many concentration camps, between 1830 and 1860 there was a 23 percent natural increase in the slave population in
12 the U. S. every decade. Although slaves were frequently whipped and beaten,[20] most masters avoided floggings if they could. They used humiliation, solitary confinement, extra work, withholding passes and other methods as alternatives for disciplining. There were good economic (value of slaves), religious, personal (much contact with slaves) and public (disapproval) reasons for not excessively beating slaves. Planters did not enforce rules to the letter.

HISTORIAN B (1972)

Absolute control was a myth. Owners recognized that slaves restricted how much work they would do, and there was little masters could do about it.[21] On larger plantations the overseer was the weak link in the control of the slaves. He had to balance the demands of the master against his own rapport with the slaves as a measure of his ability to control them. Thus, he was caught in the middle. He had no economic stake in the slaves. He tried to escape the monotony and hard work of the plantation by leaving on
12 nights and weekends, which left slaves almost totally unsupervised.[22] This leeway in control over slaves allowed them to develop other areas of life. Also, slaves had relationships other than master/slave in which they were the superior person - father, stronger personality, respected person on the plantation. Deferring to the owner was not the total of their lives. The frequency of floggings shows the lack of infantilization as well as the lack of internalization of the owners' values (as happened in concentration camps).[23]

Slave families were confronted with terrible obstacles to their survival as stable units. Marriages were not legal, and many slaves were promiscuous. In addition, slave women were sexually abused by white men.[24] Husbands couldn't protect their wives from sexual abuse, nor from physical abuse. The father was not really the head of the family in many ways. The master provided food, clothing, shelter and determined how much care pregnant women and infants received. Slave mothers had to work, so their
13 children got less care.[25] Slave families could be separated at any time. Masters generally didn't want to separate them, but many factors (death, debt) forced them to. Marriages broken by masters due to sales amounted to 32.4 percent.[26] Even slave children were sometimes beaten by white children, and nothing could be done. Children sometimes saw their parents beaten, which made them wonder who really had authority. Slave men almost universally preferred to marry slave women from other plantations to avoid watching them being abused.[27]

Nevertheless, many slave families were strong and stable. U. S. slavery was unique in the New World in that there was roughly a one to one ratio of male to female slaves (110 males to 100 females). In Latin America there was a great

imbalance of the sex ratio (19 men for each woman in some cases). The balance of the sexes in America permitted the development of the monogamous (one wife for each husband) slave family.[28] Fathers gained respect by hunting
14 and fishing to add to their families' monotonous diet. Parents had much say over their children's behavior. They taught their children obedience (to survive), not total submission to the master. Fathers and mothers were well loved by their children.[29]

Slavery in the U. S. was often cruel and deprived slaves of a happier life. Nevertheless, slavery was not totally dominant over the slaves. Slaves fought against the cruel
15 and oppressive aspects of slavery and retained strong personality traits, a sense of community, and oftentimes a strong and stable family system.

Endnotes on next page.

S-4B SLAVERY

HISTORIAN B (1972)

Endnotes

[1]*An Abstract of the Evidence Delivered Before a Select Committee of the House of Commons, 1790-91,*(London, 1791), pp. 39-44.

[2]Daniel P. Mannix and Malcolm Crowley, *Black Cargoes: A History of the Atlantic Slave Trade, 1815-1865*, (New York, 1962), p. 111. There were "fairly detailed accounts of fifty-five mutinies on slavers (slave ships) from 1699 to 1845, not to mention passing references to more than a hundred others."

[3]Gustavus Vassa, *The Interesting Narrative of the Life of Olandah Equiano or Gustavus Vassa, the African* (London, 1794), pp. 1-61.

[4]William Wells Brown, *Narrative of William W. Brown, A Fugitive Slave* (Boston, 1847), pp. 21-30, 37-41.

[5]*Daniel J. Crowley, "Negro Folklore: An Africanist's View," Texas Quarterly,* V (Autumn, 1962) pp. 65-71. John F. Szwed, "Musical Adaptation Among Afro-Americans," *Journal of American Folklore* LXXII (April-June, 1969), p. 115.

[6]J. Carlyle Sitterson, "The McCollams: A Planter Family of the Old and New South," *Journal of Southern History* VI (August, 1940) pp. 347-67. H. N. McTyeire, et al. *Duties of Masters of Servants: Three Premium Essays (Charleston, S. C., 1851), p. 136.*

[7]Frederick Douglass, *My Bondage and My Freedom* (New York, 1855), pp. 251-56.

[8]George W. Cable, "Creole Slave Songs," *Century Magazine* XXXI (April, 1886), pp. 807-28.

[9]Joel Chandler Harris, *The Complete Tales of Uncle Remus* (Boston, 1955), and Langston Hughes and Arna Bontemps, eds., *The Book of Negro Folklore* (New York, 1966).

[10] Lunsford, Lane, *The Narrative of Lunsford Lane* (Boston, 1848), pp. 20-21.

[11]Donald D. Wax, "Negro Resistance to the Early American Slave Trade," *Journal of Negro History*, LI (January, 1966), p.11.

[12]Douglass, pp. 91, 333, 422.

[13]Herbert Aptheker, *American Negro Slave Revolts* (New York, 1943), pp. 207, 280,336.

[14]Herbert H. S. Aimes, *A History of Slavery in Cuba, 1511 to 1868* (New York, 1967) pp. 89, 160,264.

[15]William Gilmore Simms, *The Yemassee* (1832), *The Foragers* (1855), *Mellichampe* (1836).

[16]Howard Braverman, "An Unusual Characterization by a Southern Ante-Bellum Writer," *Phylon* XIX (Summer, 1958), pp. 171-79.

[17]David B. Davis, *The Problem of Slavery in Western Culture* (Ithaca, New York, 1966), p. 59.

[18]Milton Cantor, "The Image of the Negro in Colonial Literature," *New England Quarterly* XXXVI (December, 1963), pp. 452-77.

[19]John Brown, *Slave Life in Georgia* (London, 1855) p. 191. Paul de Berker, ed., *Interaction: Human Groups in Community and Institution* (Oxford, England, 1969), pp. 7-30.

[20]*Ibid.*, pp. 127-36.

[21]J. Carlyle Sitterson, pp. 347-67. See also "Negro Slavery at the South," *De Bow's Review*, VII (September, 1849), p. 220.

[22]J. Carlyle Sitterson, The William J. Minor Plantations: A Study in Ante-Bellum Absentee Ownership," *Journal of Southern History* IX (February, 1943), p. 63. Charles S. Sydnor, "A Slave Owner and His Overseers,"*North Carolina Historical Review* XIV (January, 1937) pp. 31-38.

Endnotes

[23]Stanley Milgrim, "Behavioral Study of Obedience," in Warren G. Bennis et al., eds., *Interpersonal Dynamics* (Homewood, Illinois, 1964), p. 110 (not a direct quote). The frequent use of force in interpersonal relations shows that the low person (the slave, in this case) has not fully accepted his submissive role (that is, total obedience).

[24]Annie L. Burton, *Memories of Childhood's Slavery Days* (Boston, 1909), pp. 3-9.
[25]Douglass, pp. 48, 51, and Booker T. Washington, *Up From Slavery* (Cambridge 1978), p. 4.

[26]"Marriage Certificates," Bureau of Refugees. Freedmen and Abandoned Lands Record Group 105, National Archives (from sample counties in three states)

TABLE -SLAVE FAMILIES

	Mississipi*		Tennessee*		Louisiana*		Totals	
UNIONS	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Totals	1,225		1,123		540		2,888	
Unbroken	78	6.3	226	20.1	90	16.6	394	13.6
Broken	1,147	93.7	897	79.9	450	83.3	2,494	86.3
Broken by								
Master	477	39.0	302	26.8	158	29.2	937	32.4
Personal Choice	145	11.9	106	9.4	58	10.7	309	10.6
Death	509	41.5	418	37.2	226	41.8	1,153	39.9
War	16	1.3	71	6.3	8	1.4	95	3.2

*Mississipi - Adams County
*Tennessee - Dyer, Gibson, Wilson, and Shelby Counties
*Louisiana - Concordia Parish

[27]John Anderson, *The Story of the Life of John Anderson, A Fugitive Slave* (London, 1863), p. 129.

"I did not want to marry a girl belonging to my own place, because I knew I could not bear to see her ill-treated."

[28]Douglass, p.91.

[29]Charles Ball, *Slavery in the United States: A Narrative of the Life and Adventures of Charles Ball* (Lewiston, Pa., 1863), p. 211.

"Poor as the slave is, and dependent at all times upon the arbitrary will of his master, or yet more fickle caprice of the overseer, his children look up to him in his little cabin, as their protector and supporter."

S-4B SLAVERY

HISTORIAN C (1974)

Historians have been studying the institution of slavery in the U. S. for many years. One of the areas of investigation has focused on the question of how bad slavery in the U. S.
1 was, and more specifically, the question of what effect slavery had on the slave personally and on slaves as families.

The accepted view of slavery is that it was an evil institution which deprived the slaves of freedom, treated them brutally, oppressed them psychologically, and deprived them of the basic necessities of life. The first point is true; slaves were deprived of their freedom. This by itself makes slavery an evil institution. However, this book will
2 show that each of the other points is incorrect. Historians have exaggerated the negative aspects of slavery. Actually, other than taking away their freedom, slavery in the U. S. did not have very bad effects on slaves or slave families. Generally, slaves were well-treated by their masters. Masters were interested in the well-being of their slaves, since slaves were an economic asset to them.

Previous historians have been incorrect in their interpretation of slavery because they haven't looked at statistical information on it. This book adds to a new type of history called the New Economic History and marks the beginning of a "scientifically objective" view of slavery. The book is more accurate because the authors have looked
3 at more data, using computers, than other historians have studied. While previous historians looked at a few pieces of evidence on a topic, we base our research on literally thousands of pieces of evidence on some topics. This book is a turning point in the study of slavery, and it is another book in the Cliometric Revolution- the use of computers in the study of history.

Slaves in the U. S. had material conditions comparable to free laborers of their time in terms of food, clothing, shelter,
4 and medical care. As a result slaves had a relatively high life expectancy, and the slave population increased greatly without signiciant imports of slaves.

The belief by historians that the typical slave was poorly fed is without foundation in fact. Slaves before the Civil War had a 10 percent higher caloric intake than free workers

in 1879,[1] ate a great variety of good other than corn and
5 pork (which it is commonly thought they ate exclusively),[2] and received over 100 percent of the Recommended Daily Allowance (RDA) for all nutrients.[3] Slave clothing was as good as freemen's clothing. It was coarse but durable.

Shelter for slaves was also as good as or better than free housing. They key to housing conditions is the number of persons per house. Since there were 5.2 slaves per house and 5.3 freemen per house, slave quarters were probably
6 somewhat better. Comments of observers suggest that the most typical slavehouses of the late ante-bellum period were cabins 18 by 20 feet. Therefore, the typical slave cabin of about 1850 probably had more sleeping space per person than New York City workers had in 1893.[4]

Medical care for slaves in the U. S. was good. Sick slaves cost owners money, so the owners had good reasons to keep them healthy. Evidence indicates that there were midwives
7 on plantations, and that there were nurses and even hospitals on large plantations.[5] Pregnant slave women were well treated, and instructions to overseers emphasized the good health of slaves.[6]

The result of these conditions of food, clothing, shelter, and medical care for slaves was a high life expectancy (how long or average a group of people lives) and fairly low infant mortality rate. While it is true that slave life expectancy was 12 percent lower than the average for white Americans, it was as high as the life expectancy in countries as Holland and France in the same time period, and it was higher than that for urban workers in both the U. S. and Europe.[7] The infant mortality rate of slaves was not
8 significantly higher than that of whites - it was 183/1,000 for slaves and 146/1,000 for whites, which is only 25 percent higher.[8] Another myth about slavery is that slave mothers suffocated their children. The difference in suffocations of 17/1,000 for slaves to 2/1,000 for whites is accounted for by Sudden Infant Death Syndrome (SIDS), which was not understood at that time. Blacks have a higher incidence of SIDS.[9] Also, 17/1,000 suffocations still leaves 983/1,000 infants who probably received good care from their slave mothers.

S-4B SLAVERY

HISTORIAN C (1974)

Slave families in the U. S. were stable and provided
9 psychological stability to slaves. The belief that slave-breeding, sexual exploitation and promiscuity destroyed the slave family is a myth.

Owners sometimes subsidized slave families by providing separate houses, household gifts, and cash bonuses. Although marriages were not legal, owners
10 encouraged them by having ceremonies and recognizing them under plantation codes (which were more important than state laws). Moreover, owners relied on families for administration (passing out clothes and food), labor discipline, population increase, and rearing slave children.

When slave owners had to break up slave families by selling one or more family members to another owner, slaves fought against it. This shows the strong family ties
11 slaves had. The abolitionist view of slave families was inconsistent. The abolitionists said black families had no meaning, but they also said the breakup of the families was heartrending.

Actually, owners broke up families infrequently. Owners in the older slave states, such as Virginia, did not breed slaves for export to the new slave states, such as Mississippi, since the net profit of slave sales was equal to only one
12 percent of gross agricultural output of the South, which is an insignificant percentage. That slave sales across state lines were infrequent is also borne out by the evidence that 84 percent of the slaves who moved from one state to another moved with their masters, so only 16 percent moved through sales.[10]

Moreover, slave sales themselves did not often break up marriage. Thirteen percent or less of interregional slave
13 sales resulted in the destruction of marriages.[11] Since slave sales accounted for only sixteen percent of all interregional movement of slaves, the destruction of marriages by sale was only about two percent of the movement of slaves.

Another statistic supports the view of the infrequency of destruction (separation) of slave families by sale. The total

yearly sales of slaves was only 1.92 percent of the slave
14 population.[12] While other views of slave sales have relied on the subjective observations of first-hand witnesses, this view uses hard data.

Owners did not breed slaves for sale. This is shown by evidence in the so-called breeding states that the rates of return on men and women slaves were approximately the same. If women were being used to breed they would have
15 received a higher rate of return than men (since they would have been working *and* producing children). Breeding would not have done owners any good in any event, since slave women were already producing children at their biological maximum.

Slave families, then, were not destroyed by slave-breeding, sexual exploitation, and promiscuity. Under the careful control of the plantation owners, slaves had the chance to develop stable families. In this environment fathers developed the leadership of the family. Owners
16 listed fathers as the head of the family, and men were always managers on plantations. Evidence shows that mothers gave a great deal of care to their children. For example, mothers must have nursed their infants for 12 months, because they had children more than 24 months apart.

Slaves were not often physically abused or punished. Slaves were more often given positive incentives and worked hard for those incentives. The positive incentives included prizes for individuals or work gangs, year-end bonuses, grants of land, occasionally profit-sharing,
17 promotion to artisan (craftsman) or driver, and the possibility of manumission (freedom).[13] Slaves had other opportunities to better themselves, as well. The common belief that all slaves were menial laborers is false. Over 25 percent of males were managers, professionals, craftsmen and semiskilled workers.[14]

Force was an important aspect in getting slaves to work hard. The judicious use of force could get the desired result at less cost to the owner, which is similar to parental use of force. However, the system of positive incentives, not force,

HISTORIAN C (1974)

was the principal basis of promoting the work of slaves. The notion that the slaveowners relied on the last (whip) alone to promote discipline and efficiency is a highly
18 misleading myth. Whipping was the most common form of discipline, but there were many others. Barrow plantation records show 0.7 whippings per slave per year, which is certainly a low total.[15] Besides, whipping is not unusual through history; we see it in the Bible and many other places.

Slaves were taken care of by their masters in many ways. In exchange, the masters expropriated (took away) 12
19 percent of the slaves' labor output. This is much lower than the approximately 30 percent tax rate charged for government services today. Slaves got a type of welfare from owners at a cheap cost.

The result of the positive incentive system for slaves was that slaves identified with their masters. Rebellions were few because of the opportunities within slavery. Slaves also worked very hard. Slave workers were just as or more efficient than white free workers. Plantations had greater output per worker per year than Northern farms.[16] This was due to more extensive specialization, better
20 management techniques and better control on plantations. Historians who see slave workers as lazy and inefficient base their theory on the observations of one man's (Frederick Olmstead's) visit to the South before the Civil War. The problem is that this man was in the South in the slack seasons (when less work was done), so his conclusions are based on an unrepresentative sample. How could nationally known, intelligent planters have profited from poor workers? Historians who see slaves as inefficient are racists.

Certainly, slavery was bad in that it deprived people of liberty. Otherwise, however, historians have exaggerated its negative aspects. Overall, slaves were well cared for in
21 terms of good, clothing, shelter, and medical care; their families were not ruined by slavery; and they were not excessively abused by owners. The plantation was a highly efficient economic unit in which black slave workers and

HISTORIAN C (1974)

white plantation managers worked hard and cooperated to make the greatest profit. After slaves were emancipated their situation worsened considerably - they received lower wages, had poorer health, had a lower life expectancy, and had fewer skills. Certainly slavery was not totally bad.

Endnotes on next page.

S-4B SLAVERY

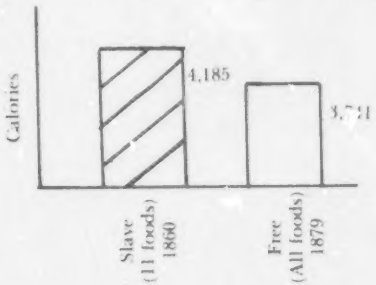
HISTORIAN C (1974)

Endnotes

[1]U. S. Census Office, 8th Census, 1860, *Agriculture of the United States in 1860*, Washington, GPO, 1864.

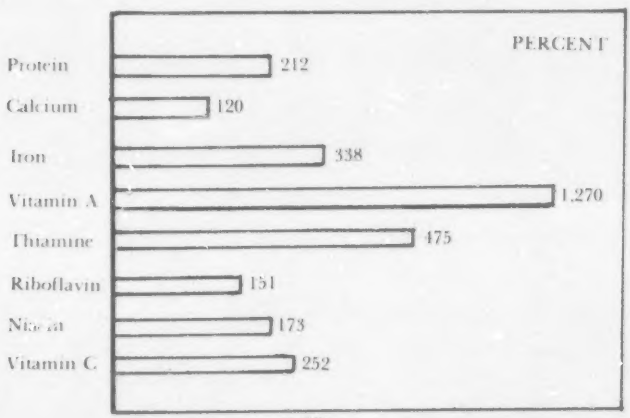
The fallacy in the position of those who argue that slaves were poorly fed stems from the failure to recognize the implications of the fact that the South in general, and big plantations in particular, produced large quantities of food in addition to pork and corn. If these other foods were not being consumed by slaves, where were they going?

Average Daily Energy Values: (calculation by Historian C).



[2]More careful reading of plantation documents shows that the slave diet included many foods in addition to corn and pork. Among plantation products which slaves consumed were beef, mutton, chickens, milk, turnips, peas, squashes, sweet potatoes, apples, plums, oranges, pumpkins, and peaches.... salt, sugar, and molasses... fish, coffee, and whiskey.

[3]The Nutritional Value of the Slave Diet: Average Slave Consumption of Various Nutrients in 1860 as a Percentage of Modern Recommended Daily Allowances (calculation by Historian C).



HISTORIAN C(1974)

Endnotes

[4]U. S. Bureau of Labor Special Report, *The Slums of Baltimore, Chicago, New York, and Philadelphia*, 1894, pp. 12, 23, 24.

[5]On one plantation with 168 slaves, for example, the hospital was a two-story brick building which had eight large rooms.

[6]Record of instructions of slaveowner J. A. S. Acklen to his overseer:

"The preservation of the health of the negroes, and the care of them when sick, will require your best attention."

Record of instructions of slaveowner C. P. Weston to his overseer:

"Your first object is to be, under all circumstances, the care and well being of the negroes."

[7]Robert Evans, Jr., "The Economics of American Negro Slavery," in Universities - National Bureau Committee for Economic Research, *Aspects of Labor Economics*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1962, Table 16, p. 212.

Evans estimates the male life expectancy of slaves at 36 years.

The Life Expectation at Birth for U. S. Slaves and Various Free Populations, 1830-1920:

Place and Period	Years
U. S., white, 1850	40
England and Wales, 1839-54	40
Holland, 1850-59	36
France,1854-58	36
U. S. Slave, 1850	36
Italy, 1885	35
Austria, 1875	31
Chile, 1920	31
Manchester, England, 1850	24
New York, Boston, and Philadelphia, 1830	24

[8]Of every thousand slaves born in 1850, an average 183 died before their first birthday. The death rate for white infants in the same year was 146 per thousand. In other words, the infant death rate for slaves was 25 percent higher than for whites.....Most of the difference between the infant death rates of slaves and free persons appears to have been due to the fact that the South was less healthy than the North. The infant death rate of southern whites in 1850 was 177 per thousand - virtually the same as the infant death rate of slaves. Death rate of 183/1,000 for slave infants is from Evans (see footnote [7]).

[9]Abraham B. Bergman and J. Bruce Beckwith, "Sudden Death Syndrome of Infancy," in Morris Green and Robert J. Haggerty, eds., *Ambulatory Pediatrics*, Philadelphia: W. B. Saunders, 1968, pp. 777-78.

[10]The figure of 84 percent was arrived at by dividing William Calderhead's estimates of the number of slaves sold from Maryland between 1830 and 1860 by Claudia Goldin's estimates of the net migration out of Maryland between 1830 and 1860.

William Calderhead, "How Extensive Was the Border State Slave Trade? A New Look," *Civil War History*, Vol. XVIII (March, 1972), pp. 42-55.

S-4B SLAVERY

HISTORIAN C (1974)

Endnotes

Claudia Dale Goldin, "The Economics of Urban Slavery: 1830 to 1860," unpublished Ph. D. dissertation, University of Chicago, 1972.

[11](Relevant information: The New Orleans sale invoices do not describe the prior marital status of women or men in the New Orleans slave market. The only demographic data indicated for all slaves sold are age and sex).

We consider as slave marriages all unions that the slaves involved intended, or expected, to be "stable," regardless of what view others may have had of these unions. For the purposes of the breakup rate, we take as evidence of such intent the existence of a child. In other words, we consider every case of a slave woman who is sold with a child but without a husband to be a broken marriage.

[12]A study of slave trading in Maryland over the decade from 1830 to 1840 revealed that total sales (local and interstate) amounted to 1.92 percent of the population each year.

Letter from Historian C, November 4, 1974 The 1.92 is based upon Anne Arundel (County, Maryland). Historian C checked with Calderhead (see footnote [10] for citation) and got total sales from holdings and estates, since this is the county with the most complete data.

[13]Analysis of occupational data derived from probate and plantation records reveals an unusual distribution of ages among slave artisans. Slaves in their twenties were substantially underrepresented, while slaves in their forties and fifties were overrepresented. This age pattern suggests that the selection of slaves for training in the crafts was frequently delayed until slaves reached their late twenties, or perhaps even into the thirties. . . .

He (the slaveowner) could, therefore, treat entry into the skilled occupations as a prize that was to be claimed by the most deserving, regardless of family background. . . . Extra effort (was) put forth by young field hands who competed for these jobs.

[14]Within the agricultural sector, about 7.0 percent of the men held managerial posts and 11.9 percent were skilled craftsmen (blacksmiths, carpenters, coopers, etc.). Another 7.4 percent were engaged in semiskilled and domestic or quasi-domestic jobs: teamsters, coachmen, gardeners, stewards and house servants.

The share of skilled and semiskilled laborers in nonfield occupations on plantations was determined from a sample of 33 estates, ranging in size from three to 98 slaves. The information was retrieved from probate records.

On large slaveholdings (over fifty slaves) only one out every four owners used white overseers. . . .

Only 30 percent of plantations with one hundred or more slaves employed white overseers. On smaller plantations the proportion was even lower . . . .

The conclusion indicated by these findings is startling: On a majority of the large plantations, the top nonownership management was black.

From the Parker-Gallman sample of records from U. S. Census, 1860, *Agriculture of the United States in 1860*.

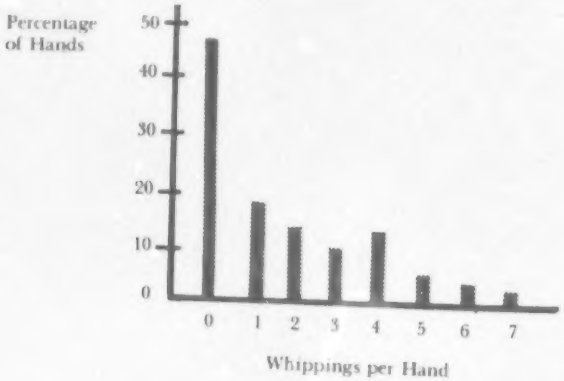
[15]Reliable data on the frequency of whipping is extremely sparse. The only systematic record of whipping now available for an extended period comes from the diary of Bennet Barrow, a Louisiana planter who believed that to spare the rod was to spoil the slave. His plantation numbered about 200 slaves, of whom about 120 were in the labor force. The record shows that over the course of two years a total of 160 whippings were administered, an average of 0.7 whippings per hand per year. About half the hands were not whipped at all during the period.

S-4B SLAVERY

HISTORIAN C (1974)

Endnotes

The distribution of whippings on the Bennet H. Barrow Plantation during a Two-Year Period Beginning in December, 1840.



"Southern agriculture as a whole was about 35 percent more efficient than Northern agriculture in 1860..... Southern slave farms were 28 percent more efficent than southern free farms.

34

CW-1A CIVIL WAR

A. Your friend, George, tells you that the movie you've been wondering about, *Kaptain Kangaroo Meets the Space Invaders*, is worth seeing. He says he didn't see it but your friend, Roger, saw it and said it was good. Roger has twice before recommended movies which you've liked. Also George says he read a review of the movie in the newspaper which said it's the best of the year.

1. Put an *E* next to the items that are evidence regarding whether this is a good movie. Put an *H* next to the item(s) that is (are) like a historian:

   _ a. You
   _ b. George says it is good.
   _ c. Roger says it is good.
   _ d. Review in the newpaper

2. In terms of Roger's statement:

   _ a. Did he have a reason to distort?
   _ b. Is he a primary source?
   _ c. Was it a public statement?
   _ d. Is there other evidence supporting it?
   _ e. Overall, how reliable is Roger's statement?

B. A historian argues that President Lincoln was not trying to push the South into attacking Fort Sumter in 1861. He backs this argument with a statement by Lincoln to the South that he was sending in only food to the Fort and that the North would not start the fighting.

___ 3. Which is the evidence?

a. Statement by the historian
b. Statement by Lincoln
c. Both
d. Neither

4. For the evidence:

___ a. Does he have a reason to distort?
___ b. Was it a public statement?
___ c. Primary source?
___ d. Is there other evidence showing the same thing
___ e. Overall, how good is this evidence?

CW-1B CIVIL WAR

HISTORIAN A

(I) Lincoln sent supply ships to reinforce Fort Sumter but told the Confederates that it was only food and if it was not resisted, no new men, arms, or ammunition would be sent to the fort unless attacked. (II) He was using Fort Sumter to beautifully maneuver the Confederates into firing first or backing down. (III) The Confederates either had to attack the fort or back down and allow the North to hold the fort in their territory.

1. Write out the conclusion to this argument:

__2. What is a possible fallacy in this argument?

A. Single cause
B. Prevalent proof
C. Misrepresentative sample
D. Either/or
E. Appeal to the mean
F. No fallacy

HISTORIAN B

(I) When Lincoln sent the supply ships to Fort Sumter he was not able to control what would happen. (II) In fact, the Confederates had more control. (III) If Lincoln had backed down about Fort Sumter, the Southerners would have demanded Fort Pickens. (IV) After all, Fort Pickens was just as much a symbol of Northern authority in Southern territory as was Fort Sumter. (V) The Southerners chose war, since they could have simply stopped the supply ships instead of firing on the fort.

3. Write out the conclusion to this argument:

__4. What is a possible fallacy in this argument?

A. Correlation as cause
B. False scenario
C. Appeal to authority
D. Attacking the arguer
E. No fallacy

5. Which of these two views seems stronger and why?

CW-2A CIVIL WAR

HISTORIAN A

(I) Slavery was the main cause of the Civil War. (II) Many people in the North were against slavery and wanted to end it - they were called abolitionists. (III) William Lloyd Garrison, a famous abolitionist, burned a copy of the Constitution as "an agreement with hell" because he said it allowed slavery to exist in the United States. (IV) Southern slaveowners did not like abolitionists. (V) The slaveowners needed the slaves to keep their economic system going. (VI) They had paid thousands of dollars to buy their slaves, and they didn't want to lose their money.

(VII) Northern abolitonists and Southern slaveholders would not talk to each other, so no agreement about slavery could be worked out. (VIII) The abolitionists continued to attack slavery in the 1850's; for example, with the book *Uncle Tom's Cabin.* (IX) This book portrayed slavery as very cruel. (X) When Abraham Lincoln was elected President in 1860, Southerners were very upset. (XI) They felt that Mr. Lincoln was against slavery. (XII) The Southerners decided that their only choice was to break away (secede) from the Union.

(XIII) The Civil War had started because the North and the South disagreed about whether slavery was right or wrong. (XIV) The two sides wouldn't talk to each other, so they ended up fighting.

HISTORIAN B

(I) Some historians believe that slavery was the main cause of the Civil War, but they are wrong. (II) If slavery was the main cause, then a major political party in the North would have proposed the abolition of (doing away with) slavery sometime before the Civil War - but no major party ever did so. (III) If so many people in the North wanted to do away with slavery, then why didn't they elect candidates who wanted to end it? (IV) Candidates who said they wanted to end slavery got only a few thousand votes in elections. (V) It is significant that most Northerners did not support abolitionists and that many Northerners even were hostile to them. (Some abolitionists were beaten by mobs in the North.) (VI) Certainly, opposition to slavery was not the main cause of the Civil War.

CW-2A CIVIL WAR

HISTORIAN B

(VII) The main cause of the Civil War was actually the struggle of the North and South over western territories. (VIII) The South wanted to spread slavery into the West, and the North wanted to prevent the spread of slavery into the West. (IX) Each side wanted more states on its side to increase the number of senators it had representing it. (For example, if there were 15 free states and 15 slave states, then there would be 30 senators for the North and 30 for the South. If one more free state entered the Union, then there would be 32 senators for the North to 30 for the South. Now the North would have a majority in the Senate.)

(X) The Missouri Compromise of 1820 shows that each side was conscious of keeping the same number of states as the other side. (XI) The North insisted that since Missouri was added as a slave state, Maine must be added as a free state, thereby keeping the balance of slave and free states. (XII) The Compromise of 1850 again shows how concerned each side was about the expansion of slavery into the West. (XIII) The Kansas-Nebraska Act broke the previous agreement about slavery in the territories, angered many Northerners, and led to the first bloodshed between the two sides ("Bleeding Kansas"). (XIV) The Dred Scott decision also involved the question of slavery in the territories, ruling that slaves could be taken into any territory and remain slaves. (XV) Northerners were outraged.

(XVI) Even the election of Abraham Lincoln in 1860, which was the immediate cause of Southern states seceding from the Union, was not due to a dispute about slavery, but about the expansion of slavery. (XVII) Lincoln had clearly stated in his debates with Stephen Douglas that he did not intend to interfere with slavery in the states; rather, he intended to prevent the expansion of slavery into the territories. (XVIII) The Southerners could see that with Lincoln as President slavery could not expand into the territories, so they were doomed. (XIX) Secession was the only way out, they felt.

(XX) The evidence shows clearly that it was not the moral issue of slavery which led to the Civil War. (XXI) Rather, it was the political issue of the extension of slavery into the territories which caused our nation's bloodiest conflict.

CW-2B CIVIL WAR

HISTORIAN A (1890)

(I) The main cause of the Civil War was the moral issue concerning slavery. (II) Southern plantation owners needed the slaves to keep their economic system going, so they did not take kindly to suggestions that slavery be ended. (III) Meanwhile, abolitionists in the North saw the slave system as immoral and felt it should be done away with. (IV) William Lloyd Garrison, a famous abolitonist, burned a copy of the Constitution as "an agreement with hell," because it allowed slavery to exist in the country. (V) The fanatical (crazy, won't listen to reason) slaveholders would not compromise, and neither would the abolitionists.

(VI) The Southern Congressmen passed the gag rule, which prevented the abolitionists petitions against the slave trade from being read to the members of Congress. (VII) On the other hand, many Northerners disliked the fugitive slave law, in which suspected slaves were taken back to their alleged owners in the South. (VIII) *Uncle Tom's Cabin,* which was written by the abolitionist Harriet Beecher Stowe and published in 1852, depicted slavery as a cruel system. (IX) Thousands more Northerners were upset by the pro-slavery Dred Scott decision, and Southerners were outraged by the abolitionist-sponsored raid by John Brown at Harper's Ferry. (X) When the Republican, Abraham Lincoln (a person who the South knew was opposed to slavery),was elected in 1860, the South decided that slavery had to be protected by seceding (withdrawing) from the Union. (XI) Compromise was no longer possible on the divisive issue of slavery, so the country fell into the Civil War.

100

CW-2B CIVIL WAR

HISTORIAN B (1927)

(I) Economic issues were the main cause of the Civil War. (II) The economic systems of the North and South were very different in the first half of the nineteenth century. (III) The North had an expanding industrial system, while the South based its economy on agriculture, especially cotton. (IV) The difference in economies led the North to favor a high tariff and federal aid (subsidies) for transportation and business, while the South opposed those policies.

(V) The South was opposed to a high tariff because its agricultural economy didn't need tariff protection, because the tariff made the South pay higher prices for the manufactured goods it bought, and because the tariff cut down on cotton exports. (Since fewer British ships would be coming to America to sell imports, fewer would be traveling back to Britain loaded with cotton.) (VI) Meanwhile, Northern manufacturers wanted a high tariff as protection against foreign competition.

(VII) Northern manufacturers also favored federal government aid to railroads and businesses, and federal laws favorable to banks. (VIII) Southern planters, on the other hand, did not want to pay taxes for policies which did not benefit them.

(IX) Other historians have said that slavery was the main cause of the Civil War. (X) However, the North never proposed the abolition of slavery. (XI) No great political party proposed abolition of slavery. (XII) The only party to propose abolition was the Liberty Party, which received only 2.5 percent of the vote in the campaign of 1844. (XIII) Lincoln said emphatically that the Republicans never intended to interfere with slavery in the states in any form. (XIV) It is thus reasonable to assume that slavery was not the fundamental issue leading to the War.

(XV) Rather, it was the issue of the spread of slavery which was important. (XVI) The Southerners needed to spread their institution of slavery to make a profit and to keep a balance with the North. (XVII) Slaveholders were faced with census returns which showed increasing wealth, population, and with it, power, concentrated in the North. (XVIII) It was the Free Soilers the slaveholders hated most, because it was the Free Soilers who advocated the idea that slavery should be contained. (XIX) Without spreading, the Southerners faced

being totally outnumbered in the government, whereupon the government could pass legislation to help Northern manufactuerers at the expense of the Southerners.

(XX) To prevent this domination by the North, the slaveholders gained control in the 1850's of the Democratic Party and thereby of the Presidency (Buchanan was a sympathizer of the slave-property class), the Senate (controlling all important committees), and the Supreme Court (having five of the nine justices from the South). (XXI) In the House there was no champion of freedom, either.

(XXII) The Southerners protected their interests through this control of the government. (XXIII) They lowered the tariff and prevented new internal improvements so necessary for industry. (XXIV) The Kansas-Nebraska Act of 1854 allowed the residents of the territories to decide whether or not they wanted slavery. (XXV) The Dred Scott decision of 1857 was even more favorable to the South, ruling that Congress did not have the power to ban slavery in the territories.

(XXVI) But this control of the government could only delay the inevitable. (XXVII) Steadily the capitalist North increased in strength compared to the South. (XXVIII) Finally, in 1860, the Republican Abraham Lincoln was elected President. (XXIX) Northern businessmen and industrialists would get what they wanted—federal grants to build a transcontinental railroad, high tariffs, and other pro-business policies. (XXX) To most Southern leaders the choice was clear—stay in the Union and have their economy crippled and dominated by Northern policies, or secede from (leave) the Union.

(XXXI) In this way, the irrepressible conflict came in 1861. (XXXII) By it the capitalists, laborers, and farmers of the North and West drove the planter aristocracy from power in the national government. (XXXIII) The Civil War was really the second American Revolution— an economic revolution in which the capitalists gained dominance in the country and pushed industrialization forward.

CW-2B CIVIL WAR

HISTORIAN C (1940)

(I) Many people see the Civil War as a period of heroism and courage when Northern soldiers bravely fought to preserve the Union. (II) War is not so romantic in reality, however. (III) It is basically a slaughter of young men. (IV) That there was heroism in the war is not doubted, but to thousands the Civil War was as romantic as prison rats and as gallant as typhoid or syphilis.

(V) Most historians up to now have regarded the Civil War as inevitable. (VI) It was not. (VII) Rather it was a needless war stumbled into by a blundering generation. (VIII) If one questions the term "blundering generation," let him inquire how many decisions of the time he would wish repeated if the period were to be approached with a clean slate and to be lived again. (IX) Most of the decisions are held up as things to be avoided. (X) The probing of the blunders does not involve lack of respect for the human beings of that generation. (XI) The distortions and errors of the time came from mass thinking, poor communications between groups, propaganda, and politics.

(XII) You can't show that a war was inevitable by any explanation. (XIII) Economic diversity between the North and South would offer more reason for not going to war than for going to war. (XIV) Trade brings prosperity, while war throttles both trade and prosperity. (XV) The economic interpretation of war has seldom been an adequate explanation.

(XVI) A difference in culture is not an adequate explanation either, since cultural and racial consciousness are as strong in Scandanavia or the Netherlands or Switzerland as they were in the U. S. in 1860. (XVII) Those countries didn't fight civil wars. (XVIII) To make war a matter of culture is poor history.

(XIX) The tariff is another inadequate explanation of the War. (XX) Sectional tariffs have existed in other periods without producing war.

(XXI) Slavery is also insufficient as a cause of the Civil War. (XXII) Most Northerners did not support the abolitonists, and no major political party ever suggested the abolition of slavery. (XXIII) The victory of the Republicans in the 1860 Election did not represent an attack on slavery, for the Republicans only proposed to prevent the expansion of slavery.

CW-2B CIVIL WAR

HISTORIAN C (1940)

(XXIV) Even the expansion of slavery into the Western territory was a dead issue. (XXV) In reality, few Southerners could have used slaves in territories such as New Mexico. (XXVI) What crops would they have grown there? (XXVII) It was the same in many of the other territories.(XXVIII)Stephen Douglas understood the impossibility of slavery in the territories when he proposed his concept of popular sovereignty. (XXIX) By allowing each territory to decide for itself whether it wanted to be slave or free, Douglas was ensuring that the issue would die out without conflict. (XXX) The people in the territories would surely vote to be free.

(XXXI) However, events had gone beyond a rational view of the situation. (XXXII) Emotionalism had taken over, and the result was bloodshed in the territories. (XXXIII) Slavery was declining in the 1850's, and without the Civil War it would have ended anyway. (XXXIV) Yet the leaders in the 1850's did not recognize the situatioon and thereby plunged the country into warfare.

(XXXV) If one considers all the factors — the Fort Sumter maneuver, the election of Lincoln, abolitionism, slavery in Kansas, cultural and economic differences — it will be obvious that even all of them together could not have caused the War if one omits the element of emotionalism or bogus leadership. (XXXVI) The notion that you must have war when you have cultural variation or economic competition or sectional difference is a historical misconception which is stupid for historians to promote. (XXXVII) Yet, some of the misinterpretations of the Civil War have tended to promote it anyway. (XXXVIII) No issue is so vital as to require a violent solution, especially one so gruesome as the Civil War.

CW-2B CIVIL WAR

HISTORIAN D (1949)

(I) Revisionist historians (one of them Historian C) have suggested that the Civil War was not inevitable, but rather that it was the result of a blundering generation which let emotions interfere with solving the problems of the 1850's peacefully. (II) These historians assert that slavery was not the cause of the War. (III) As a result, they argue that the slavery problem could have been solved without war. (IV) It would be fruitful, therefore, to examine whether slavery could have been abolished without war.

(V) Reform of slavery by Southerners was not possible. (VI) Southern slaveholders united in defense of slavery in response to abolitionist challenges and would not even consider ending it in any way. (VII) Revisionists cannot say that there should not have been abolitionists, because abolitionism was an inevitable result of slavery. (VIII) It is like saying there should have been no anti-Nazis in the 1930's. (IX) Besides, no part of the South made substantial progress toward ending slavery even before abolitionism began. (X) It is extremely unlikely that Southerners would ever have voluntarily done away with slavery.

(XI) Revisionists say that the Southern economy based on slavery was declining in the 1850's and would have died without the Civil War. (XII) This view is based on the assumption that slaveholders would have recognized the cause of their problem and moved to abolish slavery in reponse. (XIII) However, this is not what Southerners had done up to the Civil War. (XIV) They had always blamed hard times on Northern exploitations, not on their system. (XV) Southerners were not ready to give up their slave system.

(XVI) So the slave system was not to be given up lightly by the slaveholders. (XVII) And the slave system was evil. (XVIII) Moreover, in acting to eliminate criticism of its peculiar institution, the South outlawed what a believer in democracy can only regard as the abiding values of man -- free speech and dissent.

(XIX) A society bent on defending its evil institutions thus creates moral differences far too profound to be solved by

compromise. (XX) Such a society forces upon everyone, both those living at the time and those historians writing about it later, the necessity for a moral judgment or action.

(XXI) Because the revisionist historians felt no moral urgency themselves, they called those who did feel it "fanatics." (XXII) But the "fanatics" had good moral reasons for opposing slavery. (XXIII) It was the moral issue of slavery, for example, that gave significance to the debate over slavery in the territories and over the enforcement of the fugitive slave laws. (XXIV) The evidence shows that these issues, by themselves, were not the basic issues. (XXV) But they were the available issues; and they became charged with the moral significance of the central issue of slavery.

(XXVI) In light of the expansion of Naziism and its wanton attacks on innocent countries in the past decade, are we to conclude, as the Revisionists do, that man can solve peaceably all the problems which overwhelm him? (XXVII) Will we be condemned someday by historians as another blundering generation? (XXVIII) Should we have tried at all costs to settle our disagreements with Hitler peacefully?

(XXIX) We delude ourselves when we think that history teaches us that evil will be "outmoded" by progress and that politics consequently does not impose on us the necessity for moral decision and for struggle.

CW-3 CIVIL WAR

RELEVANT INFORMATION

Suppose that the information below is true. (It is important to understand that some people disagree about whether some of the information is true, but assume it is true for the sake of the problem.) Read this information and the viewpoints and then answer the questions.

RELEVANT INFORMATION:

a. England needed Southern cotton to keep its textile mills going. When cotton was cut off by the American blockade, unemployment went up.
b. Border states (Maryland, Kentucky, and Missouri) sided with the North early in the war, partly because the North had said it was fighting to preserve the Union, not abolish slavery. Many people in the border states owned slaves.
c. Even monarchies have difficulty fighting unpopular wars.
d. The morale of Southern soldiers was high because they believed they were protecting their homeland from invasion
e. The North was more industrialized than the South.
f. The Battle of Antietam was fought in September, 1862, and strategetically it was a great Northern victory.
g. Very few people in the North were abolitionists, and there were even fewer abolitionists in the border states.
h. The South only had to fight to a draw in order to win the war. If the North could not defeat her, then the South would be independent.
i. England made ships for the South to run the Northern blockade.
j. Northern soldiers, by 1862, had lost enthusiasm for fighting to save the Union. Some soldiers felt the Union wasn't worth dying for.
k. Monarchies are usually opposed to rebellions, such as the Southern rebellion in the Civil War.
l. Northern Democrats felt slavery should not be the issue over which the war was to be fought.
m. The South, on a whole, had better military leaders than did the North.
n. Most people throughout the world, including the Northern U. S., England, and France, opposed slavery.
o. England needed Northern wheat during the 1860's, since she had a food shortage.

RELEVANT INFORMATION

p. There had been slavery in England, but by 1860 England had abolished it.
q. The South won the Battle of Chancellorsville in the spring of 1863.
r. The aristocrats in England and France were sympathetic to the South (since the South was more aristocratic and the North was more democractic) and were important in persuading the governments to seriously consider siding with the South in 1862.
s. Abolitionists were very devoted to their cause (of ending slavery).
t. France was quite interested in increasing its influence in Mexico in the 1860's.
u. The South won a decisive victory at Bull Run in August, 1862.
v. Workers in England disliked the South, because they hated the idea of slavery.
w. England was a monarchy.

PROBLEM A Why did President Lincoln issue the Emancipation Proclamation?

In December, 1862, President Lincoln issued the Emancipation Proclamation, which basically said that slaves were freed in those states which were still in rebellion against the Union (that is, the Confederate States). Which is the **best explanation** for why Lincoln issued the Emancipation Proclamation?

HISTORIAN A:

Lincoln issued the Emancipation Proclamation to keep abolitionists on the Northern side and to raise Northern morale

HISTORIAN B:

Lincoln issued the Emancipation Proclamation to raise Northern morale, use Northern industry to its fullest advantage, and keep the border states on the Northern side.

HISTORIAN C:

Lincoln issued the Emancipation Proclamation to get England and France to remain neutral and to capitalize on (make use of) the Northern victory at Antietam.

HISTORIAN D

Lincoln issued the Emancipation Proclamation to get England and France to remain neutral and to raise Northern morale.

HISTORIAN E:

Lincoln issued the Emancipation Proclamation to get England and France to remain neutral, to neutralize the advantage of Southern military leaders, and to embarass England since England had been involved with slavery.

CW-3 CIVIL WAR

PROBLEM B - Why didn't England side with the South?

During the Civil War the South tried to get England to openly side with it against the North. England gave some support to the South and considered siding with the Confederacy but never actually did side with it. Which is the **best** explanation for why England did not side with the South?

HISTORIAN A:

No country wants to join sides with a loser, and after the Battle of Antietam England hesitated to side with the South. Then, after the Emancipation Proclamation, England found it very difficult to join the South since so many of her citizens would have been opposed to fighting to defend slavery.

HISTORIAN B:

England's monarchy was leaning toward the South, but when it appeared that the South might not win, the monarchy decided to stay out of the War. After all, the North was stronger industrially.

HISTORIAN C:

England needed Northern wheat more than it needed Southern cotton. In addition, since Northern morale was lower than Southern morale and since unemployment in England wasn't very high, she decided not to help the South in the War.

HISTORIAN D:

England did not need Southern cotton that badly. When the Southerners won the Battle of Bull Run, England didn't think that the South needed much help. Then, when Lincoln issued the Emancipation Proclamation, England couldn't side with the South since so many of her citizens would have been opposed to fighting to defend slavery.